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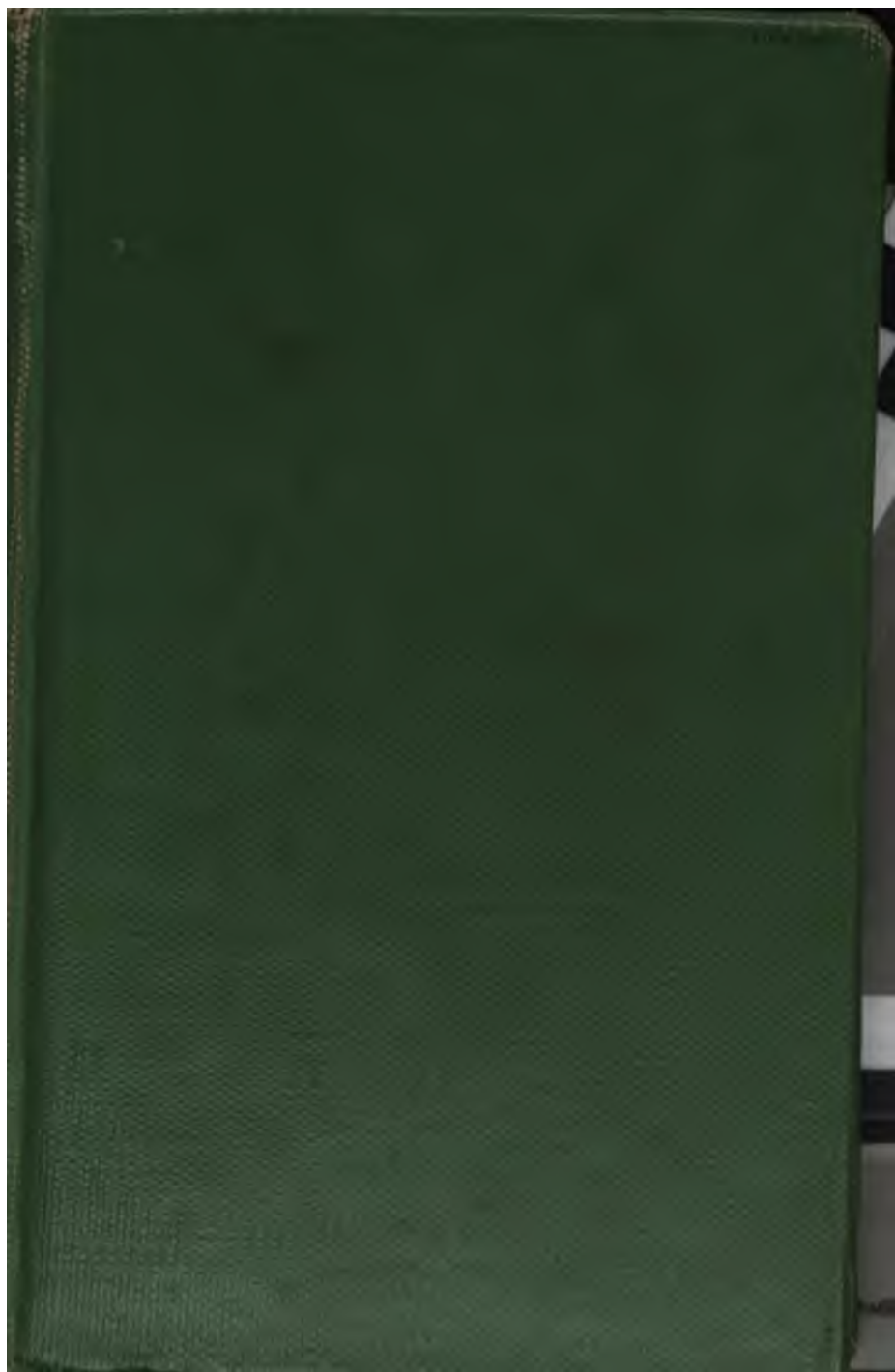
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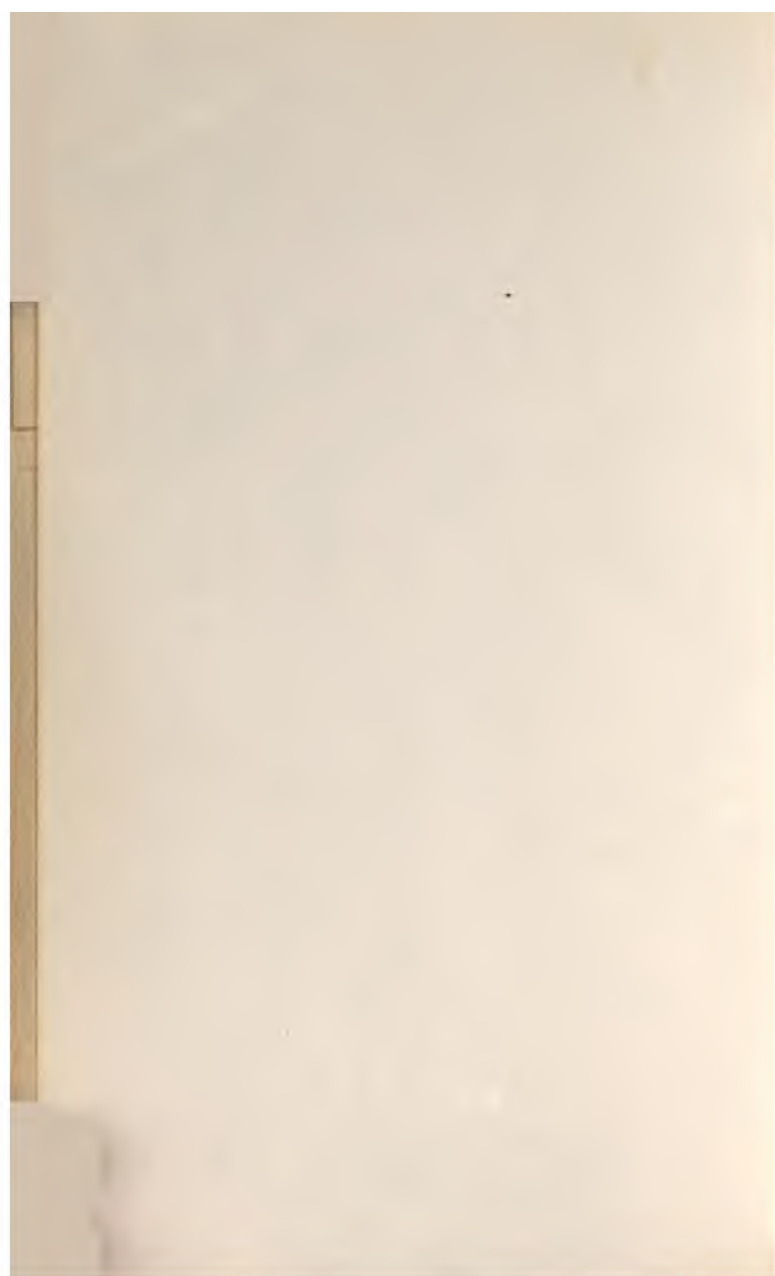




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# COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

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LIVY. BOOKS I. AND II.

GREENOUGH



COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

**LIVY**

**BOOKS I AND II**

**EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES**

BY

**J. B. GREENOUGH**



**GINN & COMPANY**

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## PREFACE.

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THE editor holds, as he has often said elsewhere, that the essential object of studying Latin is to learn to read Latin with readiness and accuracy ; that the proper method of *learning to read* is to *try to read*, in the form and the order in which the author presents his ideas and conceptions, and with as little translation into the vernacular as possible. This is especially true of Livy, who is a professional *raconteur*, always aiming to produce a graphic effect on the mind of his reader. This book is accordingly edited with a view to that object and that method. Discussions of historical and grammatical points have been made subordinate to the presentation of Livy's exact ideas as they lay in his mind, and the precise order in which in their parts and their totality he intended to present them. The teacher as well as the pupil will perhaps miss some historical and grammatical lore and many translations which they have become accustomed to associate with classical studies, but which the editor has purposely omitted. Yet in compensation it is hoped that both will be led to a better knowledge of the author and of the Latin language than they would get by following the customary method of *exhaustive comment on irrelevant topics*.

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The text, with a few exceptions, is that of Weissenborn's second edition, and to the judicious commentary of the same scholar the editor is more indebted than to any other. The grammatical references (Gr.) are to the revised edition of Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar (1888).

December 19, 1890.

## INTRODUCTION.

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### LIVY.

1. Of our author, Titus Livius, as of so many ancient authors, we hardly know more than that he lived, wrote, and died. A few facts and some inferences can be gathered from scanty notices in various contemporary and later writers. He was born at Patavium (*Padua*), according to St. Jerome, in 59 B.C., and died 17 A.D., at the same place, but must have lived the greater part of his life at Rome. The year of his birth was that of the famous consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, and his death was in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius. He thus lived through the Civil War, and saw the downfall of the Republic and the establishment of the Empire and the reign of Augustus. He must have come of a wealthy family, and no doubt was educated at Rome.

We do not hear of him as an advocate nor as a teacher of rhetoric or philosophy, but he wrote some instructions in rhetoric addressed to his son and some essays on philosophy. To these branches of study he seems to have devoted himself. It was probably as a branch of rhetoric that he took up the composition of history. He appears in no public capacity, but he enjoyed the friendship of the imperial family, and lived a quiet literary life, engaged in the composition of his great work. This he began between 27 and 25 B.C., and did not finish, or at least did not publish completely, until after the death of Augustus, — a few years, that is, before his own death. This work must have been, as it seemed to the ancients, an enormous undertaking. *Beginning with the coming of Æneas*, it contained the detailed

history of the Roman people down to the death of Drusus, 9 B.C., and probably was intended to be continued to the death of Augustus. There were originally one hundred and forty-two books. These were divided into series of fives and tens, each series embracing some marked epoch of history. Thus, at the beginning of the sixth book, he says, 'Quae ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani gessere . . . quinque libris exposui.' The first ten books describe events to the establishment of Roman supremacy in Italy, at the end of the Second Samnite War. The twenty-first begins with the Second Punic War, and seventy-one to eighty embraced the Social War. This division is not systematically carried out, but in later times the "Decades of Livy" has become a common expression. Of this great work we have preserved the first decade, the third and fourth, and part of the fifth (*i.e.* five books, two of which, however, the forty-first and forty-third, are incomplete), — in all *thirty-five*. All the rest, one hundred and seven books, have been lost. Of the "Lost Decades," epitomes (*periochae*) by an unknown hand, which have been preserved, give a meagre account of the contents. The title of the work seems to have been *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*, though Livy himself once (XLIII. 13. 1) speaks of the books as *Annales*, and Pliny the Elder (*N. H. Praef.* 16) calls them *Historiae*.

#### HIS QUALIFICATIONS FOR WRITING HISTORY.

2. Livy was not in our modern sense a historian. He was a rhetorician, who, with honesty, patriotism, and moral fervor, devoted himself to setting forth the received account of Roman history in a manner that should be interesting, instructive, and elevating. Of law, politics, religion, and tactics he had no special knowledge, even as they were in his own day, much less as they were in the early times of which he writes. Of the events narrated in his earlier books, especially in the two in this volume, historic truth was then and still is unattainable. *There was in most cases* absolutely no contemporaneous record

of events. Even the ordinary evidence in documents and the like had perished before critical skill had been developed to make use of them. In the place of true history had sprung up fables, legends, and falsified traditions, sometimes the natural outgrowth of popular imagination, and sometimes of family pride or political partisanship. The most important events in the history of the Roman constitution were enveloped in a cloud of inconsistent traditions, wild guesses of ancient writers, and deliberate lies.

3. To ascertain the exact truth amid all this falsehood by careful investigation, Livy had neither the ability nor perhaps the desire. If a fable was not too absurd on its face for his contemporaries to credit, it might stand, sometimes with a word of doubt not too strongly expressed, or an attempt at explanation. (See the founding of Lavinium, I. 1. 11; the miraculous parentage of Romulus, I. 4. 2; the story of Acca Larentia, I. 4. 7; and Livy's own words, V. 21. 9, 'sed in rebus tam antiquis si quae similia veri sint pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam'). If contradictions and inconsistencies were not too glaring, they could be lightly glossed over, or avoided by omission (see the story of Ascanius, I. 3), so as not to be apparent in the continuous narrative.

#### EARLY HISTORY OF ROME.

4. No doubt, as in all traditions, there is a germ of truth somewhere in these stories relating to the founding and earliest history of Rome. But what it is and where it is, is as difficult to find as the woman's leaven in the three measures of meal after the whole was leavened. The site of the city appears to have been the home of shepherds that pastured their flocks on the Campagna. The Romans thought these shepherds came from Alba, and referred their Latin customs to that city as their origin. They clearly were of Latin stock, and may have come from Alba as well as anywhere. But that they *as such founded any Rome, with or without a Romulus, seems*

utterly incredible. Rome owes its importance, as all cities do, to its geographical position. It commands the Tiber, the only avenue to the interior for miles along the coast. There can hardly be any doubt that a nomadic and later agricultural people came down the peninsula from the North, without any thought of communication by sea with any part of the world. When the Greeks and Phœnicians 'discovered' Italy, its inhabitants were in much the same situation in regard to the rest of the earth as the North American Indians at the discovery of America. What the foreigners wanted was the raw materials which this wild country furnished, and which were paid for by the products of civilization. This foreign commerce seems to have lighted upon Etruria first, as is indicated by the early importance of Cære and other towns on or near the coast. Presently it attacked the Tiber, and of this river the shepherds of the Palatine had the command. Rome therefore became the entrepôt, or at any rate the toll-house, of Italian commerce. The earliest significance of Rome is attached to the region along the Tiber, the haunt of the merchants, where the Circus Maximus afterwards stood (see I. 7. 3 n). The Palatine was of no importance except as a stronghold to defend the traders (and probably blackmailers), who could by means of it control all commerce with the interior, whence the raw materials wanted by the foreigners must come. Hence Rome, from being a station of shepherds, became a centre of commerce. The Sabines, a kindred stock, were close by in the mountains, and wanted to have their share in the foreign wealth. They took or had already occupied, for the same purpose as the Latins (Albans), other hills close by. After many contests they early became united into one community with the Latins. In the course of this development foreign influence made itself felt, probably by permanent settlement rather than by mere commercial intercourse. Why Lavinium should have been selected as the point *around which the legends of foreign settlement should crys-*

tallize it is not easy to see. By no possibility could *Lavinium* be derived from *Lavinia*, any more than *Rome* from *Romulus*. It is possible, of course, that foreign settlers may have established themselves there before the Tiber was opened, and afterwards removed to the new entrepôt. That around a growing city of the kind referred to a miscellaneous population of adventurers and refugees should have gathered is what one could expect from more modern examples. In time, after wealth had accumulated, it would be natural that agriculture should again become prominent, and thus give rise to the prevailing agricultural character of Roman society. For it was not by manufactures that Rome grew, but by the raw products of the soil, for which she served as the great collector and distributor. Again, at a later time, war became the prevailing occupation of the Romans, and the world-conquest which they effected began.

5. Such, or something like it, must have been the nucleus around which crystallized the great mass of fable which was received as the history of Rome. The conflicts of the orders of the state it is not so easy to unravel, because we cannot tell with certainty the real character of patricians, clients, and plebs, and the relations in which they stood to each other. The most probable supposition is that the *plebs* was composed of alien residents, attracted originally by commercial activities, and afterwards established as landholders in the state, but not of it. On no other supposition can the marked difference between them and the patricians on the one hand and the clients on the other be satisfactorily explained. But their true character, as well as the steps by which they gained a foothold in the state, will probably ever be a mystery. Many indications point to a conquest of the city at an early time by its Etruscan neighbors, and a long occupation, from which the Romans finally succeeded in freeing themselves, living thereafter under an oligarchic republic.

But such a history as this, even if Livy had known it, would

have been but a meagre field for a patriotic rhetorician, and so we have, fortunately perhaps, the received accounts, full of poetry, legend, and materials for national pride.

#### LIVY'S AUTHORITIES.

6. Naturally Livy's history is none of it the result of original research. His authorities are the historians and antiquaries who had come before him. These are chiefly, especially for the early books contained in this volume : —

*Q. Fabius Pictor* (cited by him as Fabius), who wrote in Greek the story of the Second Punic War, of which he was a contemporary, with an introduction treating of the earliest times, no doubt strongly colored by the family pride of the Fabii.

*L. Cincius Alimentus*, who covered the same ground, lived about the same time, and also wrote in Greek.

*L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi* (cited as Piso), consul 133 B.C., who was, perhaps, the most eminent of the authorities consulted. This author combined with his annals accounts of early customs and institutions.

*Valerius Antias*, who had written a history of the city from its foundation. It appears to have been less trustworthy, however, than the other works used by Livy, and more highly colored by family pride even than that of Fabius.

*C. Licinius Macer*, tribune 73 B.C., who wrote as a partisan of the *plebs* in their conflict with the aristocracy.

*Q. Aelius Tubero*, contemporary with Cicero and known to us as the opponent of Ligarius, who wrote a history from the earliest times down to the Civil Wars.

For the later books *M. Porcius Cato*, the censor, *L. Caelius Antipater*, a contemporary of the Gracchi, *Q. Claudius Quadrigarius*, *L. Cornelius Sisenna*, praetor 78 B.C., *Polybius*, the Greek, and many others, contributed materials for our author's use.

7. In his treatment of these authorities Livy naturally varies much, according to the nature of the events to be narrated.

But in general he seems not to have done as even a rhetorician might do, made a special study of all, and then made an independent account, but to have taken now one and now another to follow for certain events, and then abandoned him for some more attractive authority. The earliest events he has drawn from the more simple accounts of Fabius, Piso, and Tubero. For the next epoch, that of the beginning of the Republic, he has followed Fabius, occasionally diverging to some other annalist.

The change in his sources sometimes leads Livy into inconsistencies. A case of this kind is found in this volume. At Bk. II. chap. 21 he seems to abandon his authorities, and begin chap. 22 from a new source. In doing this he displaces the chronology, giving a new date to the battle of Lake Regillus, and repeating some of the events he has already narrated (cf. 17. 6 and 22. 2).

#### HIS QUALITIES AS A NARRATOR.

8. If we disregard Livy's faults as a historian, — and for many purposes they may well be disregarded, — we shall recognize in him a narrator whose skill amply justifies the estimation in which from his own time till now he has been held. His work is a narrative, and its truth or falsity makes no difference in his talent. His power of imagination makes him, as it were, an eyewitness of the scenes and events. He is filled with the most appreciative sympathy for human motives and human actions, especially the more pathetic and the more noble. His moral tone is lofty, without any trace of hypocrisy or cant. If an event or situation is to be depicted, he knows how to seize upon precisely the point of view which will give the most telling effect. The form of narration and the language which he selects, though often careless, are always vivid and forcible, and bring the scenes before us with intense life and animation.

## HIS STYLE AND LATINITY.

9. 'Livy's Pictured Page' is a just summary of the character of his works. His style is that of the Augustan age, a little removed from the rigid formalism of Ciceronian Latin; but it is never turgid, affected, nor strained. If we had not already adopted Cicero as the only model, and decided that other writers are less pure, we might well set Livy in that place, and call Cicero and Cæsar antiquated.

The peculiarities of Livy's style, as they affect the beginner, are mostly such as arise from the nature of his work and its purpose. Some, however, belong to the change which was going on in the language generally, and many are at the same time of both classes.

a. As the work deals with matters recorded in earlier annalists, archaisms are often apparently copied from his sources, either intentionally or accidentally, it is hard to say which: e.g., *exsignata*, I. 20. 5; *ausim*, *Praef.* 1; *haud* with all parts of speech; alliteration, as in I. 16. 3; and many others.

The lively and vivid representation to the imagination of events in their progress which was Livy's aim produces several effects on his style:

b. A tendency to dramatize, which brings in many words and constructions of common speech, and causes a *naïveté* of statement adapted to the speakers and actors themselves: e.g., *viden tu puerum hunc?* I. 39. 3; *flexit viam Brutus* (*senserat enim adventum*), I. 60. 1 (here the reason, instead of being formally made subordinate, takes the colloquial form of parenthesis); *id mirum quantum profuit*, II. 1. 11; *enimvero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse*, II. 45. 11; *velle ne scirem ipsi fecerunt*, II. 45. 12. Here belongs also the frequent use of *adeo*, introducing an explanation of what goes before (see I. 9. 5; I. 10. 7).

c. A rapid flow of narrative, which causes many breaks in construction, *constructiones ad sensum*, omissions of connec-

tives (see I. 6. 4), and omissions of words to be supplied from the context, together with a general carelessness of grammar and occasionally a want of perspicuity; e.g., *darent*, *Praef.* 13; I. 15. 1; and the indicative for subjunctive in I. 17. 2.

d. His ethical sympathy with the events, and the pressure, as it were, under which the narrative is composed tend to a poetical form of composition, marked

(1) By poetic phraseology; e.g., *Romulum Remumque cupido cepit*, I. 6. 3. Cf. for a poetic word, I. 9. 6.

(2) By poetic constructions. Cf. the frequent use of the dative (e.g., *parentibus*, I. 13. 3; *praetereuntibus*, II. 49. 7).

(3) By the use of highly wrought imagery: see the figure in *desidentes*, etc., *Praef.* 9; *deolvere retro*, I. 47. 5.

Other peculiarities belong to the earliest stage of the changes which distinguish imperial from republican prose,—changes which Livy, among the rest, himself helped much to produce. In these his style is marked, not so much by absolute novelties, as by the more frequent use of modes of expression which are more rare in earlier Latin.

e. Thus the use of the perfect participle in agreement to express an abstract idea has its roots deep in the language, but in Livy is so frequent as to be almost a feature of his style: e.g., *iram praedae amissae*, I. 5. 3.

f. The present participle as a noun (*legentium*, 'readers'; *nocentium*, 'the offenders') is not unknown at any period of the language, but in Livy it becomes one of his stock forms of speech.

g. So with adverbial expressions made of a preposition and noun: e.g., *inter precationem*, II. 8. 7; *in obsidione et fame*, II. 11. 5.

h. So attributive expressions made of a noun and preposition become more frequent in Livy: e.g., *omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas*, I. 34. 6; *loca circa forum*, I. 38. 6; *area ad aedem*, I. 38. 7.

i. The use of adjectives agreeing with subject or object to

express modifications which really belong to the verb is not uncommon: *e.g.*, *serae immigraverint*, *Praef.* 11; *adeo mitem prae-buisse*, I. 4. 6.

*j.* Nouns are used in apposition to express attributive ideas: *e.g.*, *pastor accola eius loci*, I. 7. 5; *exsule advena*, I. 34. 5.

*k.* Participles take the place of clauses more frequently in Livy than in other writers: *e.g.*, *concurso pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis*, I. 7. 9; *haec eum haud falso memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit*, I. 35. 6.

*l.* The perfect participle is often used without any feeling of tense: *e.g.*, *pater moritur uxore gravida relicta*, I. 34. 2; *rebus suis Lavinium translatis civitate cessit*, II. 2. 10; *caesum*, II. 36. 1 n.

*m.* The use of the gerund or gerundive, especially in the ablative of manner, becomes a mannerism almost: *e.g.*, *agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque*, II. 2. 9; *miscendo consilium precesque*, II. 9. 1.

*n.* Shorthand expressions, with an attribute of any kind, taking the place of a descriptive clause: *e.g.*, *factio haud dubia regis*, I. 35. 6.

*o.* Livy has also his favorite derivatives and turns of phrase: as adjectives in *-bundus*; *nunquam alias ante*; cf. *adeo* (see *b*, above), and parentheses with *enim*.

*p.* A form of speech not really strange to the language is frequent, wherein a quality is summed up in an abstract, and made the main feature of an expression: *e.g.*, *adversus tanti belli terrorem*, I. 2. 4; *foeditate spectaculi*, I. 28. 11; *concient miraculo rei novae atque indignitate homines*, I. 59. 3.

*q.* The use of the neuter singular of adjectives and pronouns, either alone or with a partitive genitive, apparently a colloquial usage, becomes more frequent, but not yet so common as in later writers: *e.g.*, *ex infimo*, I. 9. 3; *quidquid civium*, I. 25. 1; *pro indignissimo*, I. 40. 2; *quidquid deorum*, II. 49. 7; *ullius*, II. 59. 8.

In constructions we may notice :

r. The imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive in repeated action — a growth of the times : *e.g.*, *ubi dixisset*, I. 32. 13 ; *si adesset*, II. 58. 7.

s. The more free use of the infinitive instead of clauses. See I. 4. 9.

t. The indicative with *quamvis*, *forsitan*, etc. See II. 40. 7.

u. The free use of the dative — a more picturesque and poetic construction : *e.g.*, with *absonus*, I. 15. 6. See *d* (2), above.

v. The free use of the ablative of manner for more exact modifiers : *e.g.*, *periculo*, I. 12. 10.

w. Particles with participial phrases instead of a clause : *e.g.*, *velut*, I. 14. 8.

x. It is more in arrangement than anything else that Livy differs from other prose writers. His narrative is not so much to inform the intellect as to excite the imagination. Hence he does not affect the finely balanced periods of Cicero, though periodic structure is almost inseparable from Latin ; but with a skilful use of all the means of co-ordination and subordination, he presents a picture, stroke after stroke, with the proper emphasis to give its proper prominence to each detail, often leaving the grammar to take care of itself. In the skill with which he uses the position of the single words in a clause to produce these effects, he is unequalled (see I. 17. 4 ; II. 25. 3). It is impossible for us to get the effect he intends to produce without noticing the position of every word. Indeed, he sometimes for effect gives artificial and forced emphasis, which produces the effect, to be sure, but at the sacrifice of simplicity (see I. 11. 6).

Which of these or what other peculiarities of style gave rise to Asinius Pollio's charge of *patavinity* (provincialism), nobody has ever satisfactorily determined. But whatever the crime was, we may well forgive him, being sure that it can be nothing very bad.



# TITI LIVI AB VRBE CONDITA

## PRAEFATIO.

**Facturusne** operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus, certius aliquid, adlaturos se, aut, scribendi arte,

LIVY'S DOUBTS AS TO HIS SUCCESS COMPARED WITH THAT OF OTHERS.

1. **Facturusne operae pretium sim** (beginning a hexameter; not usually an approved style; see Quint. IX. 4. 74, and cf. Tac. Ann. I. 1), *whether I shall accomplish anything worth while; i.e.* worthy of recognition in proportion to the trouble. Cf. Sen. de Ben. III. 23. 2 and V. 1. 2. — **facturus** is emphatic as opposed to the undertaking of the work. Cf. *operae pretium faciat*, XXV. 30. 3, *operae pretia mereri*, XXI. 43. 9, where the other words are the emphatic ones.

a primordio urbis: opposed to partial histories, such as were most of those current. — **perscripserim**: Gr. 516. c. — **satis**, *very well*; often so used with an expressed or implied negative. — **sciam**: early and colloquial use of the present instead of the imperfect subjunctive in conditions really contrary to fact; Gr. 517. c. — **ausim**: an early and colloquial form; Gr. 183. 3.

2. **quippe qui . . . videam**, *seeing*; Gr. 535. e. N. 1. — **cum . . . tum**: see Gr. 323. g.

**rem**: *i.e.* eo modo gloriari. Livy is deterred from boasting of what he intends to do by the fact that such boasts are old and common, and, he implies, not always fulfilled. Cf. opening of Book XXI. — **dum . . . credunt**, *where*, etc.; almost equivalent to a participial construction (Gr. 492). — **novi semper**, etc.: the emphatic position of **novi** and the interlocked position of **semper** make the expression mean 'every new writer that arises thinks,' etc.; cf. V. 42. 6, *novae semper cladis*, and III. 66. 2.

**rebus**, *in the facts*, or *matter*; *i.e.* the investigation side of history. **certius**: *i.e.* than their predecessors. — **scribendi**, etc.: *i.e.* the rhetorical side. — **rudem**: as the taste of the time changes, the old is considered less cultivated and elegant. Cf. *prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo*, II. 32. 8.

- 3 rudem vetustatem, superaturos credunt., Vt cumque iuvabit, tamen, rerum gestarum, memoriae, principis rum populi, pro virili parte et ipsum, consuluisse, et tanta scriptorum turba, mea fama, in obscuro sit, nobi ac magnitudine eorum, me, qui nomini officient meo  
 4 soler. Res est, praeterea, et immensi operis, ut, quae septingentesimum annum repetatur et quae ab ex profecta initis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine la sua, et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin p origines, proximaque originibus minus praebitura v tatis sint festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam p

THE CERTAIN SATISFACTION IN  
THE WORK.

3. *ut cumque erit*: i.e. whether I succeed or not. — *iuvabit* (*sc. me*), *I shall be glad*: notice the emphatic position — *pro virili parte*... *consuluisse*, to have done my part also, etc. The expression seems to come from military or official usage (cf. *viritim*), referring to the proportion that belongs to a single man out of a body. — *ipsum*: the *me* has already been implied with *iuvabit*.

in *obscurum*: this use of the neuter adjective instead of a simple predicate or an abstract noun is characteristic of the later writers.

*nobilitate ac magnitudine*, fame and greatness; not definitely used of any particular quality, but indicating that they were conspicuous and distinguished men like Fabius, Cato, Caesar, Varro. — *officient, obscure*; i.e. not that he himself is necessarily so small that he isn't seen in the crowd, but that they are so great that he couldn't expect to be seen.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE WORK:  
ITS ENORMOUS LABOR; IT IS  
UNAPPRECIATED.

4. *res*: emphatic, opposed to *scriptorum*; the subject, too, is one,

etc.; another consideration prevents him from being successful.

*septingentesimum*: i.e. the founding of Rome, supposed to be 754 B.C.

*repetatur*, is (to be) from, etc.; always with the going back to get something mood, see Gr. 535. e. N. 1.

*exiguus*: of course, though being small, its history is limited in abundance of material. Livy's mind wavers between the state and the mass of material, — a *thaumatrop* to which he is all the more tempted by the fact that *res* may either the state or the material laborer, threatens to fall.

*et legentium*: loosely of to operis; difficult for the and unsatisfactory to the reader. Livy has in his mind chiefly earlier history, though not that Cf. *a primordio*, 1; *supra senum*, and *primae*, 4; *prisca*. The participle, though rare singular, is in the best writers; common in the plural, as a noun agency, and is used still more by Livy and later writers.

*haec*: i.e. of our own times quibus: the deeds and the

praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contra 5  
hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu  
malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper  
certe dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis  
expers curae, quae scribentis animum etsi non flectere  
a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

1 Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis 6  
magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum  
monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in  
animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo 7  
humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat, et si  
cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad

tory of them are confounded; to  
the account of these new deeds in  
which, etc.

praevalentis: cf. magnitudine  
laboret, above.

ipsae: see Gr. 298. f.

#### THE INWARD COMPENSATION.

5. quoque: i.e. besides any suc-  
cess in the undertaking.

malorum: i.e. the civil war.

omnis: cf. *sine omni*, without  
any. But here the idiom is like  
our own.

curae: i.e. the fear of giving  
offence in the treatment of recent  
occurrences. Cf. Hor. *Od.* II. 1. 6,  
*plenum opus alicui*. — scribentis:  
cf. note on *legentium*, 4. — flec-  
tere: i.e. so as to warp his account  
through fear or favor: 'It could not  
make the historian untrue, but might  
worry him.' — posset: contrary to  
fact; i.e. 'if I were not expers  
curae.' Livy is speaking now only  
of the earlier history, and in this he  
is expers curae.

#### HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EARLY HISTORY.

6. conditam condendamve: i.e.

built or building; the first referring  
to the accounts of the immediate  
founders; the second, to the adven-  
tures of Aeneas and their conse-  
quences. For construction, see Gr.  
497, 506. N. 1, and cf. *inter bibendum*  
and the like, and *ante domandum*,  
*Georg.* III. 206. The construction is  
no doubt an old one retained in collo-  
quial use. — decora, becoming. —  
poeticis: i.e. when truth is not re-  
quired. — incorruptis, unfalsified;  
i.e. untainted by any suspicion of  
untrustworthiness. — monumentis,  
records, as the sources of history. —  
adfirmare, refellere: not merely  
affirm and deny, but establish and  
attempt to refute.

7. datur, we grant (emphatic). It  
is an indulgence not denied to early  
times to invent such myths, and so  
they are justifiable, whether we  
believe them or not. — ut... fa-  
ciat: see Gr. 531. I. N. 1.

divinis: the neuter in the cases  
which are alike in all genders is  
rare in Cicero, but becomes com-  
mon later. Here it is more natu-  
ral on account of humana pre-  
ceding.

si cui populo, etc., if ANY people  
ought to be ALLOWED. — consecrare,

deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano ut, cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo quam imperium patiuntur.

- 8 Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine; ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia  
10 pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue

*add sanctity to. — referre: sc. origines. — ea, etc.: i.e. they have such fame as a warlike people, that the nations of the earth, having been conquered by them, may well allow their claim. — suum: the position continues an implied emphasis on the Roman people, and at the same time opposes suum to conditoris. — potissimum, rather than any other; precisely the god of war. — ferat, claims. — et hoc: i.e. this claim as well as their actual sovereignty. — patiuntur: the repetition of the verb implies 'as we see they are willing to do.'*

8. *animadversa, etc., criticised or appreciated. — haud: modifying in magno. — in magno discrimine ponam, attach any great weight to. Cf. aequa in laude ponendum est, Cic. Top. 18. 71; in honore ponunt, Cluent. 20. 57; and nullo discrimine habeo, Aen. X. 108. No doubt the expression is derived from book-keeping (cf. lucro appone), and discrimen is used in the sense of controversy. — equidem, I'm sure.*

#### INSTRUCTION TO BE GOT FROM LATER HISTORY.

9. *ad illa, to the point; i.e. the following (as more generally interesting) questions. — mihi: ethical date; almost as much as 'my feeling is.'*

*vita, private life; mores, public morals. — per, by the instrumentality of, not by, which would be a. — artibus, means, but referring to the personal conduct and qualities of the Romans. — deinde: used to connect the decline with the growth. — labente disciplina, as their principles were sapped.*

*velut desidentis primo mores, the first giving way, as it were, of morals. — desidentis: of a gradual subsidence, as opposed to magis lapsi sunt, and finally to praecipites, etc. The whole figure is derived from a decaying edifice. — deinde: the second moment. — ut, how. — vitia, etc.: the figure is from the healing art. Sufficiently active remedies would kill the patient.*

10. *hoc illud est, this is the*

in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu quod vites.

Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla 11  
umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctor nec bonis  
exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae  
avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam  
diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit; adeo quanto  
rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divi- 12  
tiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per  
luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia in-

*thing.* — cognitione rerum, the study of history, as we should call it. — omnis te, etc.: the emphasis gives the force: 'Every example should have a personal application, getting force from the conspicuousness of the case where it occurs.' — tibi, etc. (continuing the emphasis of te): i.e. personally and politically (rei publicae).

inde . . . inde: the clauses are rather loosely opposed. It is only in a free sense that capias can be used of foedum. It would rather correspond to vites; but this is made to correspond to imitere. Still the turn, or, if we like, *zeugma*, is not unnatural, as capias takes the place of something like notes.

RICHNESS OF MATTER FOR EXAMPLES.

11. ceterum, but (now, if it becomes a question of that). — aut . . . aut: as usual, exclusive. A modest form of asseveration, where the first alternative is stated, but evidently not believed possible.

me: the emphasis gives a force like 'I feel sure, unless, etc.' — amor: i.e. his fondness for the subject he has himself chosen. —

nulla unquam, etc., there NEVER was ANY. — nec . . . nec: Gr. 327. 2, 3. — maior, grander. — sanctor, more devoted to justice and piety. — ditior: and hence more valuable for the purpose expressed in 10.

civitatem, etc.: Cicero would probably say nec ulla civitas inquam. The change is irregular, but natural in a careless writer. — serae: a somewhat poetical use of adjective for adverb; Gr. 290. — immigraverint, gained an entrance; as if they were of foreign origin. For mood, see Gr. 535. a. — paupertati: Livy is thinking of the Cincinnati, Fabricii, and Curii of ancient times.

adeo, in fact: properly, 'to that degree was it true that,' etc. — rerum, etc.: notice the chiasmus, Gr. 598. f.

UNFAVORABLE COMPARISON OF LATEST TIMES.

12. nuper, but of late; cf. XXXIX. 6. — desiderium, a longing; almost what we should call a mania. — pereundi, of ruining themselves: a kind of passive (or middle) of perdo.

vexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratæ futuræ cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantæ  
 13 ordiendæ rei absint. Cum bonis potius omnibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tanti operis successus prosperos darent.

BUT ONE SHOULD NOT BEGIN WITH COMPLAINTS, BUT RATHER WITH GOOD OMENS.

*sed*: he corrects himself after the preceding utterance. — *futurae*: see Gr. 499. 1.

*necessariae*: *i.e.* when we come to treat of those times. — *erunt*: here *forsitan* is equivalent to *fortasse*, and has no effect on the mood of the verb, a usage which became more and more common in the later writers. — *ordiendae*: pleonastic,

as is common with words of beginning.

13. *bonis*: complaints would be, of bad omen. — *poetis*: as Homer and Virgil.

*nobis*: prose writers. — *libentius*, etc., *be more disposed to*, etc.

*orsis*: a poetic word. — *successus*: the plural where we use in English the singular; Gr. 100. *c.* — *darent*: thrown into the imperfect by the tense of the preceding (contrary to fact) condition; see Gr. 485. *h.*

# TITI LIVI

## AB VRBE CONDITA

### LIBER I.

Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in 1  
 ceteros saevitum esse Troianos; duobus, Aeneae Anteno-  
 rique, et vetusti iure hospitil et quia pacis reddendaeque  
 Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos  
 abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum mul- 2  
 titudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et  
 sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quae-  
 rebant, venisse in intimum Hadriatici maris sinum, Euga- 3  
 neisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsus

#### AENEAS IN ITALY.

(Cf. Virg. *Aen.* V. 827 seq., VII. 25 seq.)

**1. iam, well then;** forming the transition from the preface.—**satis constat, it is sufficiently settled, generally agreed;** not necessarily that Livy believed it. Cf. *Pref.* 6 and 8.

**saevitum esse, the Greeks vented their rage; i.e.** the others were slain.

**duobus:** a poetic dative instead of ablative; cf. *arcere, depellere*.—**Antenori:** cf. *Aen.* I. 242 seq.

**hospitii:** Ulysses and Menelaus were entertained by Antenor when they came to demand Helen. This, of course, implies some relation of the kind mentioned.

**auctores:** for Antenor, cf. *Il.* III. 148–264, VII. 345 seq.; for Aeneas, *Il.* XX. 298, XIII. 460; where, however, it is not definitely asserted.—**ius, etc.:** *i.e.* they let them go free.—**Achivos:** a poetic word.—**abstinuisse, gave up;** refrained from exercising.

**2. casibus variis, through various vicissitudes;** they were alike spared, but their later destiny was different; cf. Virg. *Aen.* I. 242 seq.—**Antenorem:** continuing the story in indirect discourse.—**multitudine, a large colony;** regularly used of the common people; the population.

**Enetum:** shorter form for *Ene-torum*. There seems to have been a tribe of this name in Asia. *Il.* II. 852.

**seditione, revolution;** such as was common in Athens and many Greek cities. Such disturbances usually produced many exiles.

**rege, etc.:** explaining *ducem*... **quaerebant:** cf. *Il.* V. 576.—**venisse:** the emphasis may be represented by 'finally landed' or 'immigrated,' as opposed to his wanderings on the way.

**3. Euganeis:** a tribe once settled about the Italian lakes. They may have been of Italian stock. See

- Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque Troiano inde nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati.
- 4 Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fati primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab
- 5 Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves super-

Helbig, *Die Italiken in der Poebene*.—et, and in fact; as still appears; though, of course, these names may have been given from the story. This is a remark of Livy outside of the indirect discourse.

in quem . . . locum: see Gr. 307. b.—primo: i.e. their first landing, though they afterwards conquered the whole country.—Troiano: the name; see Gr. 373. a.—universa, united; i.e. including both stems.

Veneti: the resemblance of name may have been merely an accident giving rise to the story; but such migrations were common in early times, and the story may possibly be true in its main features.

appellati: attracted to the nearest noun; see Gr. 316. b.

4. Aeneam: cf. *Antenorem*, 2.—ab, from.

maiora: we should expect *maiorum*; but it is almost a tendency of the Latin, especially in poetry, to make an adjective agree with some subordinate but grammatically leading part of a complex idea. Cf. *Aen.* VII. 44, *maior rerum ordo*.

rerum: we should say *destiny*; but Livy has in his mind the Roman state. Cf. *res Romana*, 9. 1.

fatis: a common idea with the Romans. Cf. *Aen.* I. 2, III. 182, VII. 123.

Macedoniam: there was a city Ænea in this province, perhaps connected with the worship of Venus, to which cult this name Æneas especially belongs. Cf. *Aen.* III. 17, which probably refers to the same place.

Siciliam: Segesta was very early recognized as a kindred city by the Romans. It is likely that the myth of Æneas was connected with the worship of Venus on Mount Eryx, and perhaps came from that region by way of Cumæ to Latium. Cf. *Aen.* Book V., and Tac. *Ann.* IV. 43. 6.

Laurentem agrum: this region lies south of the mouth of the Tiber. Its chief city was Laurentum, about fifteen miles southwest from Rome and a little southeast from Ostia. Cf. *Aen.* VII. 171.—tenuisse: *sc. cursum*, which is often omitted.

5. Troia: the emphasis causes the nominative instead of the more common dative; cf. *Troiano*, 3.—et huic: the name seems to have become attached to several places, probably only through the influence of the myth.; cf. Cic. *Att.* IX. 13. 6, *Troianum (praedium)*.—ibi: Virgil puts the landing farther north, by the mouth of the Tiber.—ut quibus: explanatory of the Trojans' predatory excursions; in the characteristic relative construction, a

esset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt.

Duplex inde fama est: alii proelio victum Latinum <sup>6</sup> pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt; alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa <sup>7</sup> canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, post- <sup>8</sup> quam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria

favorite one with Livy; properly, 'as persons to whom,' etc., 'as men would naturally do,' etc.

**Latinus:** see *Aen.* VII. 45. — **urbe:** i.e. Laurentum. The ancient commonwealths consisted of an *oppidum*, a fortified city which was the centre and citadel, and the *ager*, as much land—usually ten or a dozen miles across—as could be cultivated and defended by operations from the city. In case of invasion, the persons and property were taken into the city for security, and the country abandoned, or else the militia was rallied to repel the invaders.

— **Aborigines:** it is uncertain whether this has a real or only a popular Latin etymology. It may have been a tribe, but was supposed to mean the original inhabitants of Italy.

**6. inde, from that point.** — **proelio:** the emphasis gives the force, 'Some say there was an actual battle; others, that only the lines were formed,' etc. — **adfinitatem:** i.e. by the marriage with Lavinia.

**7. inter primores, to the front;** among those who fought in the first line.

**mortales:** used by Sallust and later writers for *homines*. The use of the word at all adds a little emphasis to the question, like 'what manner of men they were,' or 'who the strangers were.' — **unde . . . domo:** i.e. 'where was their home, and by what chance they had come away from it?' *Vnde domo* are often used together, but here *domo* is connected also with **quo casu**. — **aut:** we should expect *et*; but the Latin often presents questions, like negatives, disjunctively; so **quidve**. This form of expression gives a peculiar force to a question, like 'Who are you, or why have you left your homes (any way, whoever you are)? We don't know you, nor have you any business to be away from home, nor at any rate to be making depredations on our land.' So *Aen.* I. 369.

**8. audierit:** in direct discourse, *audivit*, and the tense is retained (*Gr.* 585. *b. N.*). — **multitudinem:** i.e. the people in general; cf. 2. n. — **Troianos:** answer to **qui mortales** and **unde**; **cremata:** answer to **quo casu**; **sedem:** answer to **quidve quaerentes**. — **patria,**

domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbis locum quare-  
 rere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum  
 vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra data fidem futurae  
 9 amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter  
 • exercitus salutationem factam, Aeneam apud Latinum  
 fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos do-  
 mesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in  
 10 matrimonium data. Ea utique res Troianis spem ad-  
 firmat tandem stabili certaue sede finiendi erroris.  
 11 Oppidum condunt, Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium  
 appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio  
 fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

*native city*; the fatherland of the  
 ancients was their city. — *conden-  
 dae urbis*: the dative might have  
 been used, depending on the verbal  
 idea. — *sedem, locum*: referring to  
*domo profugos* and to *patria* chi-  
 astically. It is of the greatest assist-  
 ance to remember, in reading Latin,  
 that it is a very formal language, and  
 proceeds by antitheses and ideas regu-  
 larly matched, not always in exact  
 form, but always in substance. The  
 best way to be sure what a Latin ex-  
 pression means is to see what it is op-  
 posed to. — *nobilitatem, the fame*;  
*i.e.* as being the well-known Tro-  
 jans and Aeneas. — *animum, their  
 spirit*, as shown by their conduct, in-  
 trepid, but not malicious nor savage.

*fidem*: only a pledge; the treaty  
 follows afterwards. — *sanxisse*:  
 used like our *sealed*, made it bind-  
 ing by the hand-shaking; a very old  
 form of promise.

#### UNION OF THE TWO RACES.

9. *foedus*: a formal treaty, with  
 religious ceremonies (*ictum*). — *sa-  
 lutationem, mutual greetings*. Cf.  
*salve, salutem dicere*.

*penates*: the gods of the house-  
 hold. Exactly what they were is

very uncertain; perhaps the Romans  
 didn't know themselves. Their name  
 is evidently connected with *penes*,  
*penitus, penus*, so that they repre-  
 sent the gods of the inner family  
 life of the Romans.

10. *ea res*: the marriage. — *uti-  
 que, fully*; properly, *at any rate*,  
 however doubtful the hope might  
 have been before, but implying  
 that there was *some*. — *adfirmat*,  
*confirmed*; the original meaning,  
 for which usually *confirmo* is used.  
 — *stabili, permanent, likely to  
 last* (objective); *certa, secure*,  
 about which they had no dis-  
 trust (subjective). The Latin is  
 very fond of presenting the two  
 sides or phases of an idea in a way  
 that seems to us tautological.

11. Lavinium: the name of the  
 woman is probably made up from  
 the name of the town; see Introduction,  
 4. — *brevi*: often thus without  
*tempore*. — *stirpis*: a longer form,  
 retaining the original *i*. — *quoque*:  
*i.e.* an heir to the line as well as a  
 founder of it. — *novo*: in reference  
 to the earlier marriage of Aeneas, see  
*Aeneid, passim*, where this son is  
 assigned to the first marriage; cf.  
 3. 2.

Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti. 2  
 Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adven-  
 tum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre pa-  
 tiens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra 2  
 acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli, victores  
 Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde 3  
 Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etrusco-  
 rum Mezentiumque regem eorum confugiunt, qui Caere,  
 opulento tum oppido, imperitans, iam inde ab initio  
 minime laetus novae origine urbis et tum nimio plus  
 quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere  
 ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit.

Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Abori- 4  
 ginum sibi conciliaret nec sub eodem iure solum sed  
 etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem

#### WAR WITH TURNUS AND DEATH OF AENEAS.

2. bello: notice the emphasis. So far they had had peace, now they had a trial of war. — Turnus: see *Aen.* Book VII. *segg.* — fuerat: see Gr. 495. N.

2. victores: as if 'were victorious, but,' etc.

3. Rutulique, and the rest of the Rutulians; as often with *-que*. — diffisi rebus, despairing of success; properly, not having confidence in the condition of their affairs. — florentes: emphatic as opposed to diffisi rebus. — Mezentium: Virgil makes him a king of a small portion only of the Etruscans. — Caere (ablative): one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan league; here represented as master of all. — oppido: Cicero would use *in*; but poetic constructions begin to appear in Livy. — tum: in Livy's time it was in ruins. — nimio, very

much, as in comedy. — satis tutum: like our *very safe*; cf. *satis scio*, Pref. 1. — rem: in the usual sense of *power*. — gravatim: *i.e.* without making any objection to the request implied in *confugiunt*. — socia, in alliance; proleptic; of course they were not such until after the action of *iunxit*.

4. adversus, to meet. — tanti belli terrorem, so formidable an enemy. — belli: almost concrete in Latin, referring to the combined force arrayed against him. The whole, by the use of *adversus* and by the position, makes a shorthand expression for 'This combination was so alarming that Æneas felt the need of some special measures to meet it. These he found in the closer union of his two classes of subjects, and therefore, to attach, etc., he called, etc.' — ut, *wishing to*; cf. *Aen.* XII. 190, 823, and 837.

iure . . . nomine: their position had been the same, but from the

- 5 appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere; fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum, sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implet, tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in  
6 aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum mortalium operum fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum fluvium, Iovem indigetem appellant.
- 3 Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat, tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume

difference of name there was a lack of common national feeling which was now secured.

5. *ac*: the ideas are closely united, where *aut* would separate them.

*fretus*: the emphasis gives the idea, 'And such was his confidence, etc., that he did not shrink from the contest, and that, too, in the open field.' — *his animis*: *i.e.* *studio ac fide* in both classes. — *coalescentium*: this to us awkward compression of a relative clause into a participle is characteristic of post-Ciceronian Latin. It emphasizes the meaning of the participle. — *iam*: notice the force of 'coming to,' 'getting to,' or the like, which is always present in this word. — *cum*: introducing a new subordinate concession. — *bellum, the enemy, or the invasion*; cf. *belli* above (4).

6. *secundum*, etc.: as if it were 'Then there was a battle in which the victory rested with the Latins; but for their commander it was,' etc. It is only by following Livy's unexpressed thought, as shown by the order, that the sense of his words can be made out. — *Latinis*: Livy follows poetic

usage in the very free use of the dative of possession or reference. — *operum*: not exactly *deeds*, nor *toils*, but something between, say *efforts*. — *situs est, his grave is*: the regular expression on tombstones. The disappearance which is implied is not expressed definitely; cf. *Pref.* 7. — *quemcumque, etc.*: *i.e.* whether god, hero, or man.

*super, on the bank of*. — *Numicum*: a little stream south of Lavinium. — *indigetem, local*, as tutelary divinity of a single place, to which he is supposed to be *native*. Likely enough the worship of *Aeneas* is confused with that of the river god Numicus. Cf. Dionysius, I. 64; Tib. II. 5. 43: —

Illic sanctus eris cum te veneranda Numici  
Vnda deum caelo miserit indigetem.

#### THE ALBAN DYNASTY.

3. *maturus*: the emphasis means something like 'His natural successor wasn't *old* enough yet to *take his place*, but the *place* was kept safe for him till he *was*,' or 'the youth of Aeneas' son prevented his

mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri — tanta indoles in Lavinia erat, — res Latina et regnum avitum paternum, — que puero stetit. Haud ambigam — quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet? — hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus — certe natum Aenea constat — abundante Lavini multitude florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata.

Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam deductam coloniam

immediately succeeding him; but the throne was kept for him till he could' — *tantisper*: i.e. ad pubertatem aetatem; the story doesn't tell how long. — *tutela muliebri*: i.e. strange as it may seem, explained by *tanta*, etc. — *tanta*: i.e. so great, as is indicated by the facts which are set forth; a form of expression common enough in all languages, and particularly common with Livy; cf. *adeo*, Pref. II. — *res*: in its regular meaning of *state*, as in *res publica*.

2. *ambigam*, discuss; properly, question, implying that there was doubt; hence *haud* is more admissible; cf. *haud dubito*. — *adfirmet*: see Gr. 444. — *hicine*: the colloquial old form of *hic* with the interrogative *-ne*; see Gr. 146. a. N. 1.

*fuerit*, etc., whether it was this Ascanius, — *maior*, older. — *quem*: sc. *is*, the predicate of *fuerit*. — *Iulum eundem*, being the same as, etc., in apposition with *quem*. — *nuncupat*, claims; a somewhat formal legal word.

3. *is*, etc., now this Ascanius, resuming after the parenthesis. — *genitus*: the later writers often use relatives with a participle in this manner. — *abundante*: emphasized as the reason of the emigration. — *multitudine*: regularly of the undistinguished numbers of population or followers; cf. 1. 2 and 8.

*florentem*: and so not needing a hero to foster it. — *iam*, getting to be. — *seu*: often used, especially by later writers, as an abbreviation for two appositives with *sive . . . sive*; i.e. *Laviniae seu matri seu novercae*; whether one or the other. — *sub*, at the foot of. — *porrectae*: cf. *coalescentium*, 2. 5 n. — *Longa*: emphatic; cf. the same words again in the next line. The whole tradition is probably manufactured. It is difficult to see how any white town could have been built in this position. The word *Alba* is probably from some pre-Latin language; see Helbig above cited on I. 3.

4. *Lavinium*: sc. *conditum*, obscurely implied in *deductam*.

triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes cre-  
 verant maxime fuis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae  
 nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque  
 primum puerilis regni movere arma aut Mezentius Etrus-  
 5 cique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat,  
 ut Etruscis Latinisque fluviis Albula, quem nunc Tibe-  
 6 rim vocant, finis esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii  
 7 filius, casu quodam in silvis natus. Is Aeneam Silvium  
 creat, is deinde Latinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot  
 8 deductae, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit Silviis postea  
 omnibus cognomen qui Albae regnaverunt. Latino  
 Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atys Capys, Capys Capetus,

**tamen** : *i.e.* notwithstanding the shortness of the time.

**fuis Etruscis** : this gives a chief reason for the rise in power.

**morte** : *i.e.* when there was no king.

**inter** : often thus used of time combined with circumstance or situation.

**muliebrem** : *i.e.* when there was only a woman at the head of affairs.

**rudimentum** : not merely *beginning*, but *inexperienced attempts*.—**movere arma**, *make any hostile demonstration*.

**Etruscique** : cf. *Turnus Rutulique*, 2. 3 n.

**ausi sint** : for tense see Gr. 485. c. N. 1.

5. **pax** : here Livy resumes again the narrative interrupted, after the battle in 2. 3, by the digression on Aeneas and his son. It is not unlikely that Livy follows another source here, combining two different accounts. See note on *Silvius* below.

**ita**, *with the proviso* : often a clause which seems like a result clause as defining a correlative, *is really a purpose clause expressing something which is originally a*

command or the like. Cf. Gr. 531. 1. N. 1.—**Etruscis** : a free use of the dative of reference.

6. **Silvius** : this personage is made by many the son of Aeneas (cf. *Aen.* VI. 763). The following reigns are intercalated to fill up the gap of three or four hundred years between the fall of Troy and the founding of Rome (cf. 29. 6). The whole dynasty seems purely mythical.

7. **Prisci Latini** : the meaning of this expression is involved in doubt. It seems to distinguish cities in power before Alba became the head of the Latin league. Livy is inconsistent with himself about them, as in 33. 4, where the name is used for the Latins generally; cf. also 38. 4; 52. 2; 32. 11 and 14.—**appellati** : *sc. sunt*.

8. **Silviis** : the regular dative of names. Cf. 1. 3; and see Gr. 373. a. This was probably a real traditional name at Alba.

**cognomen** : Silvius seems like a gentile name (*nomen*), but probably was not felt by Livy as such. Such names are all supposed to be derived from the name of a founder, which **Silvius**, as an adjective from *silva*, is not felt to be.

Capeto Tiberinus, qui in traiectu Albulae amnis submersus celebre ad posterum nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa inde Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnat. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit. Is sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis, cognomen collicis fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat; Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat.

Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut reverentia aetatis. Pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Addit sceleris scelus: stirpem fratris virilem interimit, fratris filiae Reae Silviae per speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fati tantae origo urbis

**Tiberinus**: obviously derived from the name of the river. — **celebre, famous**: properly, widespread and much used.

**9. fulmine ipse ictus, etc.**, his death by lightning passed it on from HIM to Aventinus; cf. *ab urbe condita*, and see Gr. 497. — **ipse**: made necessary by the putting of Aventinus in the emphatic place. — **per manus, in succession**: i.e. as his successor. — **Romanae**: emphatic as opposed to the Alban kingdom; see Gr. 498. a. — **cognomen**: cf., for the confusion of *nomen* and *cognomen*, 8 n.

**10. Proca**: the proper Latin form, without the *s*; cf. *naula* with *vabren*. — **stirpis**: partitive genitive. — **maximus**: without regard to the number (two), as we should say 'eldest son' in any case. — **legat**: apparently by will; cf. *voluntas* below.

**11. perspeciem, under pretence**: adverbial phrases with *per* are very common, especially in later writers, without any particular definiteness in the meaning of the preposition.

**Vestalem**: cf. 20. 3. — **legisset**: the king is also high-priest, to which functionary the choice belongs.

#### BIRTH AND EXPOSURE OF ROMULUS AND REMUS.

**4. sed**: i.e. every attempt was made to cut off the succession, *but*, etc. — **debebatur**: i.e. was predestined by; properly, owed to the fates, and so bound to be accomplished, in spite of human endeavor. — **ut opinor, I imagine**: i.e. it would seem so as we look at the circumstances detailed in the myth. — **tantae**: i.e. the city became so great that we are justified in thinking the occurrence was not a mere chance, but

- maximique secundum deorum opes imperii princeps  
 2 Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum ed  
 seu ita rata seu quia deus auctor culpae honeste  
 3 Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed  
 nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate  
 vindicant: sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur,  
 in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.  
 4 Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis  
 lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum  
 amnis, et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua in  
 5 spem ferentibus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis in  
 in proxima adluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est

had a divine purpose which couldn't be thwarted.

2. seu . . . seu: cf. 3. 3; notice the less exact correspondence of form in the two members, which becomes more common in the later writers. — incertae: a euphemism; dubious; of an uncertain father. — nuncupat: cf. 3. 2 n.

3. dii: because Mars has been mentioned above. — homines: merely added to give the idea, 'no power, human or divine, can,' etc. — iubet: naturally, the king. Livy is not so careful as the earlier writers about changing the subject when no ambiguity is to be feared.

4. forte quadam divinitus, *it happened providentially*. There is no inconsistency in the expression in Latin any more than in English. Cf. also the Greek *θελα τιμι τωχρ*. — Tiberis: the subject of the whole. — lenibus: *i.e.* in comparison with the current in the channel. — nec . . . et, *not . . . and at the same time*; the common set of correlatives where one branch is negative and the other affirmative. — ad iusti, etc.: an explanatory phrase used loosely, as *if he had before said adire Tiberim*, like an English colloquial, 'The fire

couldn't be got at, to the sea' — iusti amnis, *the river* *posse*: emphatic; *that it* *sible*. The two ideas are couldn't get at the river didn't need to either.' — la cf. lenibus above. — infan being mere babies, they drowned in any pool. The properly subject of mergi, often in Latin, is conceived with ferentibus, express a pronoun. — fer cf. legentium, Pref. 4 n. — the subject is grammatically effusus, but logically the indicated as far as stagn case differs from the com of the sort in that Tiberi first in its simple sense, a wards in combination with etc. It is to be remember, that to the Roman mortuus meant *Cæsar de* when we are obliged to tr the death of Cæsar.

5. velut, *supposing that*, the common Latin use of and (rarely) *ut*; see 54. functi: *i.e.* by so doing done what they had been — nunc: Ovid (*F.* II. 4

rem vocatam ferunt — pueros exponunt. Vastae 6  
in his locis solitudines erant.

et fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi  
t pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam  
ntem ex montibus, qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagi-  
cursum flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo  
m praeuisse mammas ut lingua lambentem pueros  
ster regii pecoris invenerit — Faustulo fuisse nomen 7  
it; ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos datos.  
qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores  
am putent, inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

ot was marked, but the tree  
hardly have been standing in  
time, unless Livy supposes it  
the same that grew in the  
um; cf. 36. 5. This one must  
een on the slope of the Pal-  
on the road to the Circus  
us. — **Ruminalis**: from *Ru-*  
a goddess of suckling, proba-  
ly no reference to the wolf  
e twins. — **vocatam**: *i.e.*  
hat time on.

**astae . . . solitudines, a**  
**uninhabited space**. — **tum**:  
was in the most populous  
Rome.

**t, is preserved**; not given up  
ploded. — **fluitantem**: *i.e.*  
; and not sinking as they ex-  
it would. — **lupam**: such  
are found in the myths of  
nations. — **puerilem, of the**  
— **flexisse**: *i.e.* was at-  
by and turned to, etc. —  
**nd that she**. This use of a  
n in accordance with the  
idiom is not usual in Latin,  
re makes the statement more  
ant by separating it from the  
**summissas, crouching over**,  
accomplishing the action of  
**isse** by lowering the dugs.  
**am**: where we should expect

an adverb; cf. *serat, Pref. 11*. —

**magister**: *i.e.* the king's shepherd.

**regii**: the emphatic position is  
explained by the fondness of the  
Latin for emphasizing persons; cf.  
*regis imperio, 5*.

**invenerit**: for tense cf. *immi-*  
*graverint, Pref. 11*.

**7. Faustulo**: cf. *Troiano, 1. 3*.

The word is a diminutive of *Faustus*,  
and is drawn from the early mythol-  
ogy of the Romans. Cf. *Faunus*  
from the same root in *faveo*. — **ad**  
**stabula**: because **datos** implies  
that they were taken there. The  
shepherds' hut is referred to, where  
the sheep were folded at night. —  
**Larentiae**: another name from the  
mythology. She is represented with  
the name *Acca* (mother ?), as  
mother of the Lares Præstites, and  
called also *Lupercæ* or *Lupa*. Her  
festival was the *Larentalia*. — **sunt**  
**qui, etc.**: the *Euhemerizing*, or  
realistic interpretation of the old  
myths, came very early in Rome, and  
was especially practised by Ennius;  
cf. Gellius, VII. (VI.) 7, and Macro-  
b. I. 10, 16. — **fabulae ac miraculo**,  
*to the marvellous story*. The Romans  
were fond of taking an idea apart  
and presenting its component parts  
separately. This is hardly a rhetoric.

- 8 Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando per saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sum non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones onustos impetus facere pastoribusque rapta divi cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria a celebrare.
- 5 Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse luf ferunt et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantiur

cal figure in most cases, but it is usually called hendiadys.

8. *ita geniti*, etc.: such instances of noble birth and pastoral education were familiar to the minds of the ancients; see Cic. *de Am.* 19. 70. — *stabulis*, at home in the huts; *ad pecora*, in the pasture, when the flocks were driven out. — *segnes*: i.e. they were energetic and ambitious, as suited their birth. — *venando*: a still stronger indication that they were not mere shepherds, and at the same time a preparation for their higher destiny. — *peragraré*: notice that the historical infinitive is a tense of description, not of mere narration, — *proceeded to*, *began to*, *used to*, etc.

*saltus*, woods; properly the high mountain passes, gaps, generally lightly wooded, and used by the ancients for pasture land.

9. *feras*: i.e. especially savage and dangerous ones. — *subsistere*, face; i.e. fight with them and not run away. Cf. *Romanum subsistere* (*withstand*), IX. 31. 6.

*latrones*: i.e. gradually working up to the generous pursuits of war. — *dividere*: the royal genius of the youths comes out still more in the leadership which is here implied. — *crescente*: the increase of their numbers is correlative with the more organized character of their expedi-

tions (*seria*) and their *celebrare*, practise in properly, perform in nu often; cf. *creber*.

DISCOVERY OF THE TWENTY-  
ENTAGE; AMULIUS KI

5. *Palatio*: probably 'with *palatum* and mean round hill.' Still *Pales*, a goddess) of shepherds, perhaps the same divi *palea*, chaff, are suspicious. It may be that the word long together through some remote association. — *Lupercal*: a very ancient festival was held at the Palatine to the god *Lupercus*, identified with *Faunus*; but, however, the defence of the flock against wolves (*Lupercus*). The regular name, in the plural, for *lupercal ludicrum* is substituted with a reference to *Lupercus*. This god had a grotto called *Lupercal* (also the neuter adjective *lupercalis*; see 4. 1. 1. *Ficus Ruminalis*; see 4. 1. 1. whole cult probably belongs to the early nomadic life of the — *hoc*, the present. — *Pallanteo*: of course, a later invention made to accord with the story. The association was assisted by some likeness to the Greek *Λύκαια*, so called from

Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo a genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes Lycaeam Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum.

Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri, inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic ad supplicium Numitori Remus deditur.

Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id

Lycaeus ('Wolf Mountain') in Arcadia, the birthplace of Pan. He again is identified with Lupercus and with Faunus as well; but he is properly a god of fruitfulness of the flock; and it is with this function that the Lupercalia had a special connection.

2. eo genere: *i.e.* from Pallanteum. — tempestatibus: properly, seasons; here, simply time. — sollemne, rite; considered as regularly recurring. — nudi: *i.e.* without even a tunic; imitating the dress of the god himself, who is represented as clad only with a goatskin, the early shepherd's dress. — per: *cf. per speciem*, 3. 11 n. — lasciviam, wantonness. — currebant: *i.e.* through the city. Such proceedings had a lustral significance. The superstition connected with the festival, in regard to the Roman women, is well known. There were two colleges of Luperi, the Fabiani and the Quinctiliani, a division connected with the two brothers.

3. deditis (dative after insidia-

tos): *sc. iuvenibus*. — notum: *i.e.* so that the brigands could take advantage of it.

iram praedae amissae: see Introd. 9. c. — latrones: *cf.* 4. 9. — ultro, even going so far as to, etc., though they themselves were the guilty ones.

4. crimini, etc., the charge that they laid most stress on was, etc. — fieri: the present seems to be used to represent the historical present used in their charge. — inde: *i.e. ex agris*. — agere: the chief booty in ancient times was cattle and slaves. — sic: *i.e. on this account, or so it happened that*, etc.; *cf. itaque*. — ad supplicium: the emphasis expresses the idea, 'was found guilty and,' etc. — Numitori: as the injured party; a trace of a very ancient custom.

5. iam inde, etc., already from the very first. — se: representing Faustulus in the indirect discourse. — et . . . et: the fact and the time are opposed with emphasis. — id

ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem aperiri noluerat. Necessitas prior venit. Ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem tetigerat animum memoria nepotum, sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset quin Remum agnosceret.

7 Ita undique regi dolus nequitur. Romulus, non cum globo iuvenum — nec enim erat ad apertam vim par — sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant.

6 Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Alba-

ipsum: *i.e.* the fact of the exposure. — immaturam: before it was sufficiently ascertained and ripe for disclosure. — per occasionem, on a favorable opportunity; per necessitatem, in case of necessity; he did not want to be hasty unless some circumstance should make the suggestion natural or necessary. This use of *per* loosely to make an adverbial phrase is almost a mannerism of the later writers.

6. ita: cf. *sic*, 4. — metu: that Numitor might unwittingly do some harm to Remus. — forte et, it happened also that, etc. — comparando, etc.: *i.e.* noticing the coincidence of their age with the time of the exposure, and Remus' bearing, which indicated a higher birth than that of ordinary shepherds, he was led to inquiry, and was confirmed in his suspicion. — eodem: *i.e.* the same conclusion as Faus-

tulus, explained by the *ut* clause. — esset: impersonal in Latin, though best rendered by a personal construction in English.

7. undique: exaggerated, for two sides only. — regi: not against him, but for him; the toils were closing in on him. — globo: *i.e.* not an open attack of a body, but a concealed gathering and insidious attack.

erat: for the emphasis, see Gr. 598. d. (2). — a domo: not the regular use of *domus* as the place from which, but like *ab Corintho*, 47. 4, as the standpoint from which. The whole indicates that Numitor assents to the plot, though he takes no active part in it until the events described in 6. 1.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF NUMITOR.

6. dictitans: the frequentative denotes that this was a pretence to summon the forces (pubem) to the citadel, and so have them under his

nam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelus in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe quae conderetur fore. Inter- venit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni

command, ready for the concilium below. — in arcem, etc.: a short form for *in arcem ad eam obtinendam*, etc. — avocasset, called off; i.e. from the palace, (under the pretence of defending the most important point,) so as to leave the king to his fate. — se: referring to the subject of vidit. — gratulantes, to congratulate him; the pres. part., as often, with the force of a future to denote purpose. — concilio: i.e. an assembly of the people. — cogniti, recognized, as belonging to him. — auctorem (sc. esse), responsible. — ostendit, made known.

2. contionem: so called, as resembling the meetings called by a Roman magistrate for the purpose of publishing anything to the people. — agmine, in a solid body; not a disorderly mob. — secuta, etc., they were followed by an assenting voice from all the multitude which, etc.; probably an echo of the earlier method of choice of

a king; cf. the customs of the Gauls, etc. — ratum . . . efficit, confirms, ratifies.

3. re: i.e. the power; cf. 3. 1, res Latina. — cupido, etc.: see Introd. 9. d (1).

et, and in fact; a favorite use of et with Livy. Here the force is, 'And it was a very natural and practicable plan for,' etc. — supererat, etc., there was an excessive number, etc. — ad id, and besides these. — pastores: i.e. those among whom Romulus and Remus had passed their youth. — accesserant: a sudden change of the point of view to the moment of the founding. — qui, etc., so that they, etc. — facile, without question; cf. facile princeps. — facerent: characteristic subjunctive; a population which, etc., but better translated by a result clause. — conderetur: representing quae conditur in direct discourse.

4. cogitationibus: i.e. the species above mentioned. — avitum: cf. 2

cupido, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis vercundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

- 7 Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur sex vultures, iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo sese ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consulaverat. Tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur. Ibi in turba

10. — *inde*: *i.e.* the real cause was ambition, though the occasion of the quarrel was a slight one, given in *quoniam*, etc. — *foedum*, *unseemly*, as between brothers.

*aetatis*: cf. 3. 10. — *ut dii*, etc.: a purpose of *capiunt*. — *tutelae* (genitive), *to whose protection the region belonged*; *i.e.* under whose it was. The notion of such local divinities was a very widespread one.

*qui*: relative; *the one to give*.

*templa*: in its technical sense of a spot chosen according to the augural ritual (see 18. 6 *seq.*) for the purpose of observing certain phenomena therein (*inaugurandum*).

#### KILLING OF REMUS.

7. *priori*, *first*. — *utrumque*, etc., *each was hailed as king by his particular followers*. — *sua*: the reflexive, because *utrumque* is the subject of discourse, although not the grammatical subject. — *consulaverat*: the pluperfect refers the action to the time of *vertuntur*. *The Latin in order to make a unit*

of the circumstances takes an arbitrary point of time, and refers the rest of the statements to that.

*tempore . . . praecepto*, *from the priority of time*; literally, seizing upon the time ahead of the others, who had only the number.

*numero*: a general word is implied in *praecepto*, which, of course, is not true of *numero*. It is not necessary to supply it, because Livy does not have a definite word in his mind. This usage is often called *zeugma*. — *trahebant*, *were proceeding to claim*; a description of the state of things when the time of *vertuntur* begins.

2. *altercatione*, *a war of words*.

— *certamine*: abl. of cause. — *irarum*: the plural assigns more vividly the angry feeling to each of the two parties; see Gr. 100. c. — *ad caedem*, *to bloodshed*; not the murder of Remus, but the mutual violence. — *vertuntur*, *are excited*; *i.e.* beginning with words, they at last come to blows. — *ibi*, *thereupon*; in the *caedes*. — *in turba*, *in the mêlée*; *emphatic as opposed to ab irato Romulo*.

ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatio fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros, inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset 'Sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea!', interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euanthro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens

**muros:** see 44. 3, and note. The act was a kind of sacrilege. — **verbis:** with increpitans. — **quoque:** i.e. as well as a blow. — **sic:** sc. *percat*; or cf. 26. 4. — **interfectum:** other accounts are given or implied in *Ov. Fast.* V. 469; *Virg. Aen.* I. 292.

#### FOUNDING OF ROME; CULT OF HERCULES.

3. **condita:** the city was not fully built until after the fracas, so that Romulus was the founder in either case. Livy derives *Roma* from *Romulus*, which is etymologically impossible. — **nomine:** abl. of separation; cf. *ab nomine*, 23. 3. — **Palatium:** the hill which was the site of the earliest city, or at least the citadel of it. Remains of the earliest walls are still to be seen on the hill. They did not occupy the whole of the summit, which was originally divided by a ravine into two parts, of which only the northwestern one was occupied by the citadel or *Roma Quadrata*. — **sacra:** in the minds of the ancients, an idea inseparable from the founding of a city, and hence next mentioned. — **aliis, the other;** as often in *Livy*. — **Albano:** i.e.

old Italian. See *Introd.* 4. — **ritu:** the ritual of Greek worship and of Italian seems to have been distinctly different.

**Herculi:** the worship of Hercules must have been very early introduced by Greek merchants. His altar, the *Ara Maxima*, was in the low land by the river, west of the Palatine, where must have been the commercial quarter; and this altar had a special connection with good faith in bargains. In the growth of legends the worship was naturally associated with Evander.

**facit, performs;** but implying the establishing of a permanent cult.

4. **Herculem:** this divinity, who came to the Greeks from the Phoenicians, had as his tenth labor to steal the cattle of Geryon, the three-headed monster of the island of Erytheia. To accomplish this feat, he passed westward along North Africa, and, crossing at the Pillars of Hercules into Spain, on the coast of which the island was supposed to be, returned with the cattle by way of Europe. It was on this return that he was supposed to have come to Italy.

- nando traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et p:  
laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubi  
5 Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppress  
pastor accola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus  
tus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam pra  
vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam co  
lisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo dedu  
erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritu  
caudis in speluncam traxit.
- 6 Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus  
gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse nu  
sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si for  
vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidi  
in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus anir  
7 loco infesto agere porro armentum occipit. Inde  
actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relict

**loco herbido**: the low land between the Capitoline and Palatine and the river. — **laeto**, *luxuriant*; as in poetry. — **reficeret**: the purpose of **procubuisse**; *i.e.* he stopped, and being tired himself from his journey (as well as the cattle, implied in **quiete**) lay down.

5. **ferox viribus**, *arrogant on account of his strength*; what we express in other connections by 'a bully.' — **avertere**: a technical term for carrying off cattle and other booty. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* X. 78.

**agendo**: opposed to **aversos** **traxit** below. — **compulisset**: a kind of indirect discourse, representing the thought in Cacus' mind. This construction easily passes into the contrary-to-fact form, of which it is, no doubt, the origin; see Gr. 516. *f.*, and compare 517. *d.* — **aversos**: opposed to **agendo**. — **eximium**: here equivalent to a superlative; see Gr. 313. *b.* — **quem-**

**que**: limiting partitive app with **boves**. — **caudis**: ev an imitation of *Hermes*' see *Hymn to Apollo*, 413.

6. **pergit**: a continuance action implied in **perlustr** *i.e.* having looked over a were directly in sight, he p farther, thinking they migh strayed. — **si . . . ferrent**: see whether, etc. Properly struction of omitted apodos Eng. *in case*, and Goodwin's and Tenses, 494. — **foras**, o from the cave. — **incerti imi**, *puzzled*; for constr., s 358. — **porro**, *away, farther* **occipit**: rare with the c mentary infinitive, but her like other words of its cla

7. **actae**, *as they were away*. — **ad, from**; proper accordance with'; cf. *ad belli*, VI. 27. 9. — **ut fit, us** *i.e.* cattle usually miss their

ssent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox ulem convertit. Quem cum ad speluncam vadentem s vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava fidem pas- n nequiquam invocans morte occubuit. andier tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate s quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miralitterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines, rabiliior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam quam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae entes fuerant. Is tum Euander concursu pastorum dantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis us postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, um formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augus-

nions. This is a good ex- of the manner in which tin, and especially by Livy, roke is added after another mplete the statement, and with reference to what has receded. The only way to Latin is to take it as it , and often a sentence must oken up in translating, in to keep the proper inter- dence of the parts. — inclu- 1: *sc. in spelunca*. — ex nca: *sc. reddita*; the whole ry common short-hand form pression. — convertit, *drew mition of*. — fidem: the regu- of one calling upon his com- is or countrymen or the gods sistance, and common in the y (*O fidem popularium*, etc.); nserted to give a more strik- ture.

uander: cf. Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 7. — Peloponneso: *i.e.* from ia. — auctoritate, *personal nce*, from respect for his ter. — imperio, *power*, as a ized monarch. — miraculo: an apparently miraculous in- n. — litterarum: *i.e.* the art

of writing, which evidently came to the Latins by way of Cumæ, an Æolic colony.

venerabilior: *i.e.* the power of writing seemed divine, but still more so did the famed origin of Evander.

— Carmentae: derived from *car- men* on account of the metrical form of prophecy, and the supposed divine inspiration of poetry; an Italian nymph whose name is preserved in the Porta Carmentalis at the foot of the capitol. There seems to be nothing strange to Livy in an Italian nymph being the mother of a refuge- ee from Arcadia; but the names are doubtless all inventions. Probably the traditional mother of Evan- der was identified with this Latin prophetess; cf. *Aen.* VIII. 339; *Ov. F. I.* 499. — fatiloquam: in appo- sition with quam. — Sibyllae: cf. *Aen.* VI. 9, *seq.*

9. pastorum: cf. 7. — trepi- dantium, *crowding around*; prop- erly, hurrying hither and thither around Hercules, not venturing to arrest him, but holding him at bay. — manifestae, etc., *caught in the act of open murder*. — ampliorem: properly, with formam; augus-

- 10 tioremque humana intuens, rogitat qui vir esset. Vbi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, 'Iove nate, Hercules, salve,' inquit. 'Te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit tibi que aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris  
11 gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat.' Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata ara  
12 condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime in-

**tiorem**: properly, with **habitum**, though attracted to **formam**; **humana**: belonging to both, but agreeing in gender with **formam**.—**qui**: cf. *qui mortales*, I. 7, and see Gr. 148. b. N.

10. **patremque**: notice the division into groups, the first two words in one, and the last one in the other.

**Iove**, etc.: in accordance with the answer given to his question.—**aucturum**: the standard expression for being added to anything; cf. *Aen.* V. 565.—**cecinit**: cf. *Carmentae*, 8n. This prophecy accounts for the dedication of the altar before the apotheosis of the hero.—**maximam**: the altar so called stood in the low ground by the Tiber, near the gate of the Circus Maximus. It was no doubt erected under Greek influence, and seems to have been connected from very early times with the foreign trade of the city. Upon it bargains were solemnized, and the deity, by the name *Dius Fidius*, was identified with *Semo Sancus*, the Sabine god of faith; see Mommsen, Book I. chap. xii.—**ritu**: every cult had its own peculiar ritual, either borrowed from abroad or developed from very early times; cf. *Graeco Herculi*, 3.

The chief peculiarities of this rite were: offering with uncovered head, consuming the offering sitting, and the exclusion of women,—all Greek forms, introduced, doubtless, by the early merchants along with the divinity himself.

11. **accipere**: a regular word upon the announcement of omens. It would seem to have been necessary for the favored mortal to accept the favorable omen to make it valid. Cf. *accipio omen, mea filia*, *Cic. de Div.* I. 46. 103; and *Serv. to Aen.* V. 530, *nostris arbitrii est visa omina vel improbare vel recipere*.—**impleturum**: i.e. so far as he was concerned, by erecting and dedicating the altar; cf. *IX.* 34. 18; *Aen.* VIII. 271; *Prop.* V. 9. 67.

12. **primum**: the first offering to inaugurate the cult.—**ministerium**: i.e. as assistants to Hercules, who probably is conceived as having acted as chief priest.—**Potitiis ac Pinariis**: the names seem manufactured; but they may well be relics of descriptive names in some still older rites; cf. *IX.* 29. 9; *Virg. Aen.* VIII. 269 seq.—**familiae**: logically appositive to the names, but, according to Latin usage, absorbed into the relative clause; cf. *Gr.* 307. e.

ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, ut 13  
 i ad tempus praesto essent hisque exta apponeren-  
 Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem.  
 institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne  
 sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Euandro edocti 14  
 ites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec  
 o servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio genus  
 Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus 15  
 x omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum immortalis  
 virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant,

ous divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium 8  
 udine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla  
 aeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita a

**exta**: as particularly sacred, rt, liver, etc. To this day, ce, these parts of the lambs, whole on Easter Sunday, ted as special dainties; and or, as a stranger, has had esented to him on such an 1.—**dapem**: it is to be re- ed that every sacrifice in times, except those to the low, was a feast. Cf. for the matter *Aen.* VIII. 179 seq.— **Pinarium**, etc.: apparently ily became extinct first.

**ntistites**: *i.e.* for the *min-* : above mentioned.—**tra-** : *i.e.* they abandoned the performance of the rites to and, thereby committing a s offence, they as a conse- died out.—**publicis**: to orship were attached certain ho were considered the prop- the divinity or of the com- ulth. In this case, instead g only assistants, they were to perform all the rites, and he pollution and consequent the Potitii. See IX. 29. 9.

15. **tum**: *i.e.* this is the only foreign rite that dates back from time immemorial. Very many other foreign rites were afterwards introduced.—**fautor**: this explains the adoption by Romulus of this particular foreign rite. As destined himself to follow the example of Hercules, he had a fellow-feeling for the hero, mentioned by Livy as a kind of omen or inspired consciousness.

#### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW STATE.

8. **divinis**, etc.: attended to first according to the order of business taken in the senate; cf. **rite** (*in due form*).—**ad concilium**: not a legislative assembly, but a *contio* to hear his determination. Cf. 6. 2.—**corpus**: *i.e.* an organized commonwealth.—**legibus**: including the whole constitution.—**iura**: not differing from **legibus**, but used for variety.—**dedit**: as king without the action of the community.

2. **ita, only**; properly, so (and so only), on this condition; a very com-

sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim  
 3 sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet, et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

4 Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis  
 5 quam ad id quod tum hominum erat munirent. Deinde ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e

mon use of *ita* . . . *si*. — **sancta**, *binding*; sacred in the eyes of the people. — **se ipse**: himself as the lawgiver; we should expect *ipsum*, but the Latin idiom is otherwise; see Gr. 298. *f*. — **venerabilem**, *imposing, majestic*. — **insignibus**: including all the insignia mentioned in 3. — **imperii**, *of royalty*. — **lictoribus**: as the executors of his supreme authority, carrying the rods and axes.

3. **secutum**, *adopted*; followed as a rule. — **me haud paenitet**, *I am content*; have no reason to regret. — **apparitores**: the lesser servants of the king and the magistrates. — **duodecim**: the number twelve was closely bound up with all the reckoning of the Romans, though they had also a decimal system. One of the systems was undoubtedly foreign, and the duodecimal system may have come from the Etruscans. Twelve

cities were reckoned as belonging to the Etruscan league.

#### GROWTH OF THE STATE.

4. **interim**: while the constitution was preparing. — **in spem**: as a hope looks forward, there is a natural tendency to say 'into the (future) hope,' rather than 'in the (present) hope.' Livy is the first who so uses *in*. — **quod tum**: of course, on Livy's interpretation of this myth, the number was small. There is little doubt, however, that the city grew for commercial reasons, as have Chicago and San Francisco, and that adventurers flocked thither from all quarters. The strength of a regal government, however, made an asylum more natural than a vigilance committee.

5. **vana**, *weak and feeble*; a mere extent without corresponding internal strength. — **vetere consilio**:

terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descenditibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit.

Cum iam virium haud paeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat: centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

cf. the example of Cadmus, *Ov. Met.* III. 105.—*saeptus*, enclosed for some purpose.—*descendentibus*, as you go down. *Gr.* 378. 2.—*lucos*: the Capitoline Hill had two summits, on each of which seems to have been a sacred grove, and between these a depression.—*asylum*: there were in Greece and Italy many such places of refuge (cf. *Tac. Ann.* III. 60 *seq.*), to which persons might flee and be under the protection of the divinity. This sanctity was often violated, but was in the main respected. There is no reason to believe that the statement here is not true. The growth of Rome seems to indicate an influx of adventurers (*avida novarum rerum*) who were attracted by the sudden mercantile importance of the city. It is more probable, however, that the asylum already existed than that it was opened expressly; cf. 30. 5; XXXV. 51. 2.

6. *id*: referring to the influx.—*ad, towards*; looking forward to the size of the city as planned by Romulus; cf. 4.—*roboris*, real strength; partitive with *id* or *primum*, with both of which it properly belongs, and having reference to *vana magnitudo* above.

7. *iam*: i.e. after the accessions.—*paeniteret*, had no reason to be dissatisfied.—*consilium*, a head; properly, wise counsel to direct the powerful body; but the word is used in a half abstract and half concrete sense as being the regular name for any council, and especially for the senate.—*soli*: i.e. these were all the heads of families that there were.—*patres*: i.e. heads of old clans. It must be remembered that the father, so long as he lived, was the only free member of a family, while all his descendants, however numerous, were in his power.—*certe*: as opposed to the doubt in *sive . . . sive*.

*ab honore*, as a distinction, as a council of the elders; cf. *senatus*, *earl*, *alderman*, and similar words. This would agree with the first supposition tolerably well, but not at all with the second, unless we suppose the name to have become accidentally attached to them, as fathers *par excellence*.—*patricii*: this part is no doubt true, as the word is an adjective, like other words in *-icius*; cf. *Cic. de Rep.* II. 12. 23, *Romuli senatus, qui constabat ex optimatibus, quibus ipse rex tantum tribuisset ut eos patres vellet nominari patriciosque eorum liberos*.

- 9 Iam res Romana adeo erat valida ut cuilibet finitimorum civitatum bello par esset, sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent.
- 2 Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit qui societatem conubiumque novo populo
- 3 peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnum-
- 4 que nomen facere; satis scire origini Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem: proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere.
- 5 Nusquam benigne legatio audita est, adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent: id

#### EFFORTS TO SECURE WIVES.

9. iam, *by this time*. — hominis aetatem, *only one generation*. — quibus: referring to the persons implied in *res Romana*. — domi: because there were so few Roman women. — conubia, *right of inter-marriage*, a relation which seems to have been carefully guarded among the ancients; cf. the struggle later between plebeians and patricians.

2. ex consilio: Livy conceives the proceeding as it would be under a consul later. — circa, *around among*; a very common use of the word in Livy. — societatem: not necessarily for any other purpose than the conubium, for even that would require a treaty of alliance.

3. urbes, etc.: the learner must not forget the ease with which the Latin drops into indirect discourse whenever anything is to be quoted. The

apologetic tone here is on account of the youth of the state (*novo populo*). It was young, to be sure, but had a great future before it.

4. deos, etc.: referring chiastically to *virtus* and *dii*. — proinde: the regular illative particle before any exhortation, summing up the reasons for the request or command. — homines, etc.: an additional reason, through an intimation of equality.

5. adeo, *to such a degree* (as is indicated by the preceding); a very common trick of language in Livy, giving the reason in the form of an antecedent to a result clause, as if it were, 'to such a degree did they, etc., that they nowhere received them.' — spernebant, etc.: *i.e.* they scorned them, and at the same time didn't wish to perpetuate them. — ecquod, etc.: a question implying a recommendation, as one might say, 'have you tried this means?' — feminis: of course, a most insult-

enim demum compar conubium fore. Aegre id Romana 6  
pubes passa et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit.

Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegri-  
tudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industria parat  
Neptuno Equestri sollemnis; Consualia vocat. Indici 7  
deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet, quantoque apparatu  
tum sciebant apt poterant concelebrant, ut rem claram  
exspectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, 8  
studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi  
quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates; iam 9  
Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus  
venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos cum situm moe-  
niaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur  
tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Vbi spectaculi tem- 10  
pus venit deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum  
ex composito orta vis signoque dato iuventus Romana  
ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte in 11  
quem quaeque inciderat raptae. Quasdam forma excel-

ing proposition, as only women of the worst character could be refugees in ancient times. — *demum*, only; a common use of *demum* and *denique*.

6. *pubes*: a rather poetical word for all men of military age. — *ad vim*, etc.: *i.e.* as though the men would resort to violence to avenge the insult and secure wives. — *Neptuno Equestri*: *i.e.* as creator of the horse; cf. Virg. *Georg.* I. 12, and Ποσειδῶν τὸν ἵππον, Arist. *Clouds*, 83.

*Consualia*: the origin and meaning of the cult is lost in antiquity, but it continued to be celebrated in later times, and was closely connected with the games of the Circus.

7. *concelebrant*: (*sc.* the people who were to take part) just as is the

case in modern fêtes, and for the same object (*ut rem*, etc.).

#### RAPE OF THE SABINES.

8. *mortales*: the favorite word in historians for human beings. — *etiam*: *i.e.* as well as the games. — *quique*: the plural to express communities rather than individuals. — *Caeninenses*, etc.: ancient towns, apparently Latin, long since destroyed.

9. *iam*, then again. — *situm*: the situation of Rome has always been famous; cf. V. 54. 4; Cic. *Rep.* II. 3. 5.

10. *spectaculi*: *i.e.* the races. — *deditae*: as an adjective; cf. Gr. 495. — *eo*: equivalent to *ei*, as often (Gr. 321. a).

11. *forte*, just as it happened. — *in quem*: *sc.* ab eo (*raptae*).

lentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines,  
 12 quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Vnam  
 longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo  
 Talassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitan-  
 tibus cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret,  
 Talassio ferri clamitatum. Inde nuptialem hanc vocem  
 13 factam. Turbato per metum ludicro maesti parentes  
 virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus  
 deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas  
 14 ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se  
 melior aut indignatio est minor.

Sed ipse Romulus circumibat docebatque patrum id  
 superbia factum, qui conubium finitimis negassent; illas  
 tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium  
 civitatisque et, quo nihil carius humano generi sit, libe-  
 15 rum fore; mollirent modo iras et quibus fors corpora  
 dedisset, darent animos; saepe ex iniuria postmodum  
 gratiam ortam eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adni-  
 surus pro se quisque sit, ut, cum suam vicem functus  
 officio sit, parentium etiam patriaeque expleat deside-

12. *Talassii*: of course an invention to explain the cry *Talassio* used at weddings, the meaning of which was as unknown to the ancients as it is to us.

13. *turbato*, broken up in confusion.

*foedus*, their hosts: properly, the implied agreement made by their hosts in inviting them. — *deum*: Neptune. — *per fas ac fidem*, by a pretence of piety and good faith. — *venissent*: an indirect quotation of their appeal (*venimus*).

14. *melior*: i.e. than their parents had for them.

RECONCILIATION OF THE WOMEN.

*sed*, etc.: as if it were, 'but when R. went about as he pro-

ceeded to do, and showed them, etc., they began to abate their wrath (*iam admodum*). — *tamen*: i.e. notwithstanding that the act of carrying off the women was one of retaliation, as had just been said. — *in societate*, etc.: i.e. not as slaves, but as free-born citizens whose offspring would be entitled to all legal rights.

15. *melioribus viris*: a predicate ablative, a common Latin idiom with *utor*. — *adnrsurus pro se*, will do his utmost. — *vicem*: adverbial accusative; Gr. 397. a. — *officio*: i.e. simply as a husband (*suam*). — *expleat*, etc.: i.e. by greater kindness to supply the want of other objects of affection.

1. *Accedebant blanditiae virorum, factum purgan-* 16  
*cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre*  
*nium efficaces preces sunt.*  
*in admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At rapta-* 10  
*parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et*  
*cellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indig-*  
*ones continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad*  
*in Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod*  
*imum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, convenie-*  
*nt. Caeninenses Crustumini et Antemnates erant* 2  
*uos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his*  
*us Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi*  
*muniter bellum parant. Nec Crustumini quidem* 3  
*e Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis*  
*in pigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum*  
*grum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastan-* 4  
*s fit obviu cum exercitu Romulus levique certamine*

*accedebant*: *i.e.* besides arguments of Romulus, there also the influence of their husbands' wooing. — *factum*: the wavers between a noun (*expressing their action*) and an infinitive (*saying that it was done*). Probably Livy was not conscious of the latter. It is to be remembered that two constructions seem very different to us but are undistinguishable by the Romans. — *quae . . . preces*, a phrase of prayer which; Gr. 307. e.

R WITH THE CAENINENSES.

1. *raptarum parentes*: one might expect *parentes raptarum*, but the two words are usually made into one expression, repeating with emphasis *raptarum*, which has not been emphasized. — *tum maxime*, at that

*very moment*; *i.e.* after the brides themselves were reconciled. — *sordida veste*: the usual sign of mourning with the ancients, assumed whenever it was desired to excite compassion. — *continebant*, etc.: the imperfects describe the state of things, as if 'nor were the expressions of indignation confined to their own cities; there was a flocking,' etc. — *regem*: apparently ruling only in Cures, but exercising a general control over the Sabine stock. — *legationes*: *i.e.* officials from these states.

2. *lente agere*, not to act with sufficient vigor.

3. *nomen Caeninum*: an almost regular expression for different peoples of one stock. Cf. *nomen Latinum*.

4. *vastantibus*: the usual way of making reprisals in those times. —

docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fugatque, fusum persequitur, regem in proelio cat et spoliat, duce hostium occiso urbem primo capit.

- 5 Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum fa-  
magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor  
ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte  
gerens in Capitolium ascendit, ibique ea cum ad q  
pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono  
6 vit templo Iovis finis cognomenque addidit deo.  
ter Feretri,' inquit 'haec tibi victor Romulus re  
arma fero templumque his regionibus, quas mode  
metatus sum, dedico sedem opimis spoliis, quae

**exercitum**, etc.: notice the three moments in the narrative, *the army*, *the king*, and *the city*. — **regem**: named Acron, according to Prop. V. 10. 7.

#### THE SPOLIA OPIMA.

5. **victore, in triumph**; not merely 'victorious army,' but like 'flushed with victory,' as a predicate. — **factis**, etc.: *i.e.* no less fond of displaying his exploits than great in performing them. — **ferculo**: such hand-barrows were used later in the triumphal procession, to which this has a certain resemblance, though Livy ascribes the first triumph to Tarquinius (38. 3). — **Capitolium**: the Capitoline Hill, then unoccupied; cf. **pastoribus**, in next line. — **pastoribus**: *i.e.* held sacred by them to Jupiter. — **deposuisset**: *i.e.* deposited as an offering, doubtless hanging the arms on the tree. — **simul**, etc.: *i.e.* he offered the gift, and at the same time conceived the idea of a temple, for which, in the manner of augurs, he marked out by some visible objects the

sacred limits. Only such rally consecrated place *capitolium*.

**cognomen**: like the more modern times, the divinities were worshipped places and under many and in these several circles they were considered in a separate divinities, received accordingly.

6. **Feretri**: the story have been invented, or explained, to account name, which, however, is well accounted for there true that *feretrum*, from *Feretrius* might come, *barrow*; but the instrument use is too insignificant the name for the divinity. instrument was used for images in procession, an use might very well give — **rex regia**: these two stances were the necessary sites for the *spolia opima*.

**animo**: later the augur out the space in the sky

busque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posferent.'

aec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae 7  
itum est. Ita deinde diis visum nec inritam condi-  
templi vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros  
upavit, nec multitudine compotum eius doni vul-  
laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella  
a parta sunt spolia: adeo rara eius fortuna de-  
fuit.

im ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus 11  
occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Roma-  
incursionem facit; raptim et ad hos Romana legio  
a palantes in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo 2  
tu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum, duplicique  
ria ovanthem Romulum Hersilia coniunx, precibus  
rum fatigata, orat ut parentibus earum det veniam

or augur's staff. — me auc-  
my example.

mpli: i.e. of Jupiter Capito-  
—primum: perhaps not in-  
ent with chap. 7. 3, because  
night be the first *templum*  
; but no reliance can be  
on these stories. — ita: re-  
to what follows. — nec, not  
one hand. — nuncupavit,  
ly declared: a religious word  
ag solemn forms. — nec: cf.  
ove, by which the two state-  
are opposed to each other. —  
otum, partakers, but with  
a of a privilege enjoyed. —  
on account of the plural  
; Gr. 137. b. These were won  
Cornelius Cossus (IV. 20. 2)  
Claudius Marcellus (B.C. 222).

WITH THE ANTEMNATES AND  
CRUSTUMINI.

per: cf. note to 3. 11. — occa-  
n ac solitudinem: a hendi-

adys; i.e. the army going home  
gave the enemy an opportunity for  
an inroad.

et ad hos: i.e. as well as the  
Cæninenses before. These proceed-  
ings give a very good idea of war  
in early times. — legio: in its orig-  
inal meaning of levy or army.  
Afterwards, when a larger number  
was levied, the name remained for  
the unit of organization, the legion,  
as it had formerly been levied.

2. clamore: the war-cry in an-  
cient times had a much more potent  
function than now. The armies often  
did not meet at all, but, as in a mod-  
ern charge, one party broke and  
fled before the collision. — duplici:  
i.e. over the army in the field and  
in capturing the town. — ovan-  
tem, returning in triumph, flushed,  
etc. — Hersilia: afterwards made  
a divinity along with her husband  
(cf. Ov. Met. XIV. 851), under the  
name of Hora or Horta.

et in civitatem accipiat; ita rem coalescere concordia posse. Facile impetratum.

3 Inde contra Crustumino profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi,  
4 certaminis fuit. Vtroque coloniae missae; plures inventi qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustumino nomina darent; et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

5 Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Spurius Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci; huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat, — aquam  
6 forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat; accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum

ita, on those terms (only). — rem coalescere, the strife be settled; properly, the (divided) interests grow together.

4. utroque, to both cities; cf. Gr. 321. a. — coloniae: to these were assigned land taken from the conquered city, as was the regular way in later times. — nomina darent, enlisted; the regular term for colonists, who went as an army of occupation. — et Romam: i.e. many of the citizens of Crustumium also came to Rome, besides those colonies of Rome that went in the other direction.

#### WAR WITH THE SABINES.

5. per iram, etc.: as was the case with the others (see 10. 2 seq.).

6. consilio: i.e. the open plans of warfare. — arci: the whole Capitoline Hill.

#### THE MAID TARPEIA.

aquam: for such purposes water was always taken from a living spring, and often from some particular one. The Vestals brought water daily from the spring of the Camenae, outside the Porta Capena (Serv. Aen. VII. 150; Plut. Numa, 13). Probably Livy had this custom in mind; but that spring was quite on the other side of the city. The order of the words is very artificial, emphasizing first the purpose of the maiden's going outside the walls; then bringing in the introductory words, forte, ea (on account of the parenthesis), and tum (at the time the enemy arrived): then emphasizing the fact of her being outside the walls. — sacris: Gr. 382. 2.

7. potius: sc. quam dolo. — ne quid, etc.: the purpose (object)

tori esset. Additur fabulae, quod vulgo Sabini  
 s armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo gemmatos-  
 aigna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam quod  
 iistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis  
 congesta. Sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod  
 iistris manibus haberent derecto arma petisse dicant  
 ude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.  
 nuere tamen arcem Sabini atque inde postero die, 12  
 Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Palatinum  
 olinumque collem campi est compleret, non prius  
 nderunt in aequum quam ira et cupiditate recipe-  
 e arcis stimulante animos in adversum Romani  
 re. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant, ab Sabinis  
 us Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic  
 Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque  
 ia sustinebat. Vt Hostius cecidit, confestim Ro- 3

gives the idea of their wish-  
 lay down a law, not merely  
 g a fact; *i.e.* to teach future  
 it to expect any faith if they  
 lves were faithless.

dditur, etc.: Livy's naïve  
 n among the stories is some-  
 musing. — pepigisse, *made  
 in for, demanded in return.*  
*i.e.* on account of the bargain.  
 not merely 'upon her,' which  
 be *in*, but as it were, 'for  
 crush her. Cf. Gr. 363. 2.

adendi, of surrender; in  
 uses the original impersonal  
 g of the gerund shows  
 1; cf. Gr. 502. N. — de-  
 outright; not the bracelets,  
 e other story, so that the act  
 have a patriotic aspect. —  
 sam: the Latin regularly  
 the intensive idea by using  
 lexive in an emphatic posi-  
 lloved by the intensive.

#### THE SABINES IN THE CAPITOL.

12. tamen, in any case; which-  
 ever story is true; *i.e.* notwithstanding  
 the doubt about the story, yet  
 this fact is true in any case. — quod  
 inter, etc.: the northwesterly part  
 of the Forum and the low ground  
 running towards the river. — in ad-  
 versum, up the hill, in face of the  
 enemy; properly, 'in their front.'  
 — subiere: the indicative is regu-  
 lar with *priusquam* where the main  
 clause is negative.

2. principes (subject), great war-  
 riors. — utrimque, on the two sides.  
 — pugnam ciebant, led the fight. —  
 ab, on the side of. — hic: joined chi-  
 astically. — iniquo loco: as the en-  
 enemy were above. — ad prima signa,  
 in the front rank; with reference to  
 the later order of battle; cf. VIII. 8.  
 3 seq. — animo, etc.: thus making  
 up for the disadvantage of position.  
 — sustinebat: the imperfect story

- mana inclinatur acies fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus, arma ad caelum tollens, 'Iuppiter, tuis' inquit 'iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent, inde huc armati superata media valle tendunt. At tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem Romanis fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.' Haec precatus, velut si sensisset auditas preces, 'Hinc,' inquit 'Romani, Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet.' Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi, ipse ad primores Romulus provolat.
- 8 Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decurrerat et effusus egerat Romanos toto quantum foro

the narrative to describe the state of affairs; but it is somewhat unnatural to imitate the effect in English.

3. *ad veterem*, etc.: the Porta Mugionis, in the Clivus Palatinus on the northeastern slope of the Palatine.

#### TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR.

*Romulus*: conceived as present at the fight, but in the rear.

4. *avibus*: see 7. 1.

5. *siste*: in its causative sense; hence *Stator*, the *Stayer*.

6. *templum*: the substructions are now visible on the excavated Palatine. — *Statori*: emphatic, with direct reference to *siste*. — *praesenti*, direct, of a divinity coming in person, as opposed to indirect means. — *servatam esse*: cf. *ne quid*, etc., II. 7 n. Here the lesson taught is one of fact. The whole matter looks like an attempt to ex-

plain *Stator*, which is more likely to mean 'the one who sets upright'; cf. *Στήσιος*, *Ὀρθόσιος*. This view seems to shimmer through *servatam*. Not much reliance is to be placed on these etymological myths, as it is their very nature to be false; at least, no one about which the truth was known was ever found to be sound.

7. *sensisset*, had an intimation; the emphasis gives the suggestion of a divine monition. — *hinc*: not merely *here*, but *from this point*, as the action of *resistere* would be in the opposite direction. — *restitere*, did make a stand (emphatic). — *ad primores*: taking the place of his fallen general.

8. *princeps*, in the front. — *effusos*, in confusion (a kind of predicate). — *quantum*: the antecedent *tantum* would be accusative of extent of space. — *foro*: without in on account of *toto*; Gr.

um est; nec procul iam a porta Palatii erat, clami-  
 'Vicinus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes; iam  
 t longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare  
 viris.' In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocis-  
 rum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo  
 forte Mettius pugnabat, eo pelli facilius fuit; pul-  
 Romani persequuntur et alia Romana acies auda-  
 legis accensa fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem  
 strepitu sequentium trepidante equo coniecit, aver-  
 que ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille  
 em adniventibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum  
 o animo evadit; Romani Sabinique in media convalle  
 um montium redintegrant proelium, sed res Ro-  
 a erat superior.

im Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum 13  
 n erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis  
 ebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex

— hospites . . . hostes :  
 play upon the words.

x equo, on horseback, accord-  
 the Latin idiom.—eo: i.e.  
 se the horse was more easily  
 ned.—pelli (sc. eum).—  
 m, etc., being put to flight he  
 sued, etc. This repetition of  
 eding word is a common rhe-  
 device; cf. 10. 4.—alia:  
 aliqua, as often in Livy; cf.  
 11. 7. 3.

in paludem: where after-  
 was the Forum.—strepitu:  
 ase of trepidante (frightened).  
 ererat, etc., the attention of  
 abines, also (as well as the  
 n pursuers) was diverted, etc.  
 luperfect gives, like the imper-  
 ne state of things, as if it were,  
 was a lull in the fight be-  
 etc. Then the new facts are  
 in the historical presents, fol-  
 by a new description in erat.

The effect cannot be seen except by  
 noticing this interplay of description  
 and narrative.—quidem: opposed  
 to sed. 'He, to be sure, escaped,  
 but in the battle which was then  
 renewed, the Romans were gaining  
 the advantage,' etc.—in media,  
 etc.: i.e. farther to the west.—res  
 Romana, the side, etc.

#### THE BATTLE STAYED BY THE SABINE WOMEN.

13. iniuria: notice the double  
 meaning of the word, wrongs, or  
 injustice. Most Latin nouns have  
 a tendency to express either phase  
 of a complex idea.

crinibus, etc.: cf. sordida veste,  
 10. 1 n.—victo, etc.: i.e. their nat-  
 ural instincts were overborne by the  
 distressing situation.—ex trans-  
 verso, from the flank; i.e. a  
 movement across the direction in  
 which the lines faced.

transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere  
 2 iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine  
 nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio  
 macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum proge-  
 3 niem. 'Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos  
 vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caedium  
 viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine  
 alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus.'

4 Movet res tum multitudinem tum duces; silentium et  
 repentina fit quies, inde ad foedus faciendum duces prod-  
 eunt, nec pacem modo sed civitatem unam ex duabus  
 faciunt, regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt  
 5 Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid  
 daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius  
 pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equum  
 Curtius in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

*impetu, a wild rush, so violent that it was like a hostile charge. — dirimere, separate; use the present to express the historical infinitive. — iras, the angry strife; as they were engaged, their wrath could be said to be separated.*

2. *suos: i.e. those of the suppliants, who would bear the stain of blood, if either their fathers the Romans, or their grandfathers the Sabines, should kill the other. — nepotum: genitive of 'material'; Gr. 344.*

3. *si, etc.: abrupt change to direct discourse. — adfinitatis: referring to the Sabines, who became by the marriage affines; conubii: referring to the Romans. — melius peribimus: a common idiom corresponding to our 'it is better that,' etc. — sine alteris, etc., without one of you (husbands) as widows, or without the other (fathers) as orphans.*

4. *movet (emphatic), they were touched. — silentium: of voice;*

*quies: of arms. — ad foedus, etc.: the emphasis gives the sense, 'then it occurred to them to make a treaty, and the leaders advanced for that purpose.' — regnum, the regal power, by making both Romulus and Tatius kings together (consociant), referring to the persons; imperium, the seat of empire, referring to the government abstractly.*

#### UNION OF THE TWO PEOPLES.

5. *tamen, still; inasmuch as the nationality of the Sabines was thus merged, that some compensation might be given them. — Quirites: according to Livy both peoples were called so. It is more probable that the two words were independent and had nothing to do with Cures, though the name of that town might also be derived from *quiris, lance*. — monumentum, as a memorial; for case see Gr. 397. f. — Curtium lacum: cf. VII. 6.*

: bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas 6  
ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit.  
e, cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina  
a curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie 7  
into numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an  
tatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint quae  
na curiis darent.

dem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae 8.

Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatius Titienses  
lati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta

Inde non modo commune, sed concors etiam reg-  
duobus regibus fuit.

st aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Lau- 14  
im pulsant, cumque Laurentes iure gentium agerent,

Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant.

r illorum poenam in se vertit: nam Lavini, cum ad 2  
nne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto inter-

x bello, following a war, as  
with *ex*. — *repente*: modify-  
: verbal idea implied in *ex*.  
as: this word, of which the  
ogy is doubtful, is undoubt-  
ed of a territorial division of  
tricians, with separate sacri-  
or each division. Seven of  
mes have come down to us,  
of which, as *Fauzia*, *Titia*,  
seem to Livy to be derived  
ames of women.

oc: *i.e.* the thirty.

enturiae: a hundred men  
ach tribe; ten (a *decuria*)  
ach *curia*. — *Lucerum*: the  
origin of this branch is in-  
in mystery. They were,  
ss, a third stock incorporated  
he Romans, but from what  
is not known. They were  
by the last of the three, and  
ot, like the others, represented  
sacred rites.

DEATH OF TATIUS, AND WAR WITH  
FIDENAE.

14. iure, etc.: *i.e.* they demanded  
satisfaction according to the unwrit-  
ten but generally recognized law  
observed between nations (*gen-  
tium*) as opposed to the laws of  
any state (*ius civile*). This law, of  
course, protected ambassadors. —  
apud Tatium: the demand was  
made to him as akin to the guilty  
parties. — *gratia*, influence. The  
word is the abstract of *gratus* in  
both senses, *grateful* to one as for  
favors and *agreeable* to one as by  
means of favors. Here the favor  
in which Tatius held his kinsmen we  
may express by their *influence* with  
him. — *plus*: *i.e.* than the justice  
of the Laurentian cause.

2. illorum: *i.e.* the kinsmen, of  
course. — *Lavini*: see 1. 11. — *sol-  
lemne*, stated; there were close re-  
ligious ties between the two cities

- 3 ficitur. Eam rem minus aegre quam dignum erat tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.
- 4 Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Juventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est.
- 5 Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum

on account of their supposed relationship. Cf. V. 52. 8; VIII. 11. 15. — *concurso facto*: *i.e.* assailed by a mob, or in a riot.

3. *minus aegre*, etc.: *i.e.* Romulus was not so indignant as he should have been, being moved either by distrust of his colleague or by his sense of justice. — *seu* . . . *seu*, *either* . . . *or*, the usual meaning in later Latin. — *infidam*: his distrust is transferred and expressed as a quality of the association, *untrustworthy*. — *bello*: *i.e.* to avenge the murder; for the case, see Gr. 402. — *quidem*: showing that *bello* is afterwards to be treated as a concession. Latin is full of such formal pointers, which English omits or transfers to another clause. — *tamen*, *but still*; opposed to *quidem*; see note, above.

*expiarentur*: the guilt on both sides in its religious aspect is cleansed by the religious act of renewing the treaty (see citations under *sollemne*, 2). There is underlying the whole a reminiscence of an old religious connection of all the peoples of the Latin race,

obscured later by the pre-eminence of Rome.

4. *quidem*: indicating a connection like: 'With them, to be sure, they had no war, though they had expected one, but from another quarter they did have one.' — *Fidenates*: theirs was an Etruscan city only five and a half miles from Rome, on the same side of the Tiber. — *esset*: the subjunctive means, before there *should be*, not before there *was*; Gr. 592. — *occupant*, *make haste* . . . *first*; *i.e.* before the Romans should make war on them. — *immissa*: two participles with a noun are not regular in Latin, but they occur where one is attached to the noun so as to make with it a single idea.

5. *laevam* . . . *dextra*: from the point of view of the army as it marched somewhat southward devastating the country along the Tiber. They would thus find the Tiber on their right hand, and they turned easterly up the Anio towards their left. — *cum magna trepidatione*, *with a great panic*. The word indicates not necessarily fear, but a hurry-scurry, whether from

a trepidatione agrestium populantur, tumultusque  
 s ex agris in urbem inlatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus 6  
 ilus, neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bel-  
 poterat, exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille  
 um locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto egressus 7  
 ous copiis partem militum locis circa densa inter  
 ta obscuris subsidere in insidiis iussit; cum parte  
 e atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaere-  
 tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae adequitando  
 prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae  
 anda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus  
 ilem dedit. Et cum velut inter pugnae fugaeque 8  
 ium trepidante equitatu pedes quoque referret

or any other cause. — **agres-**  
*i.e.* outside the towns. — **tu-**  
**l**, *disorderly flight*. — **pro**  
*i.e.* brought the first news,  
 e had been no declaration

**excitus**: *i.e.* called out to ac-  
 the cities in those times were  
 ily impregnable. The usual  
 of warfare was as in this  
**neque enim**, *for naturally*  
 . This expression regularly  
 ces a statement which itself  
 no argument, like our 'for  
 , 'for you know.'

**gressus**: from the camp,  
 vas always strongly fortified.  
**ibus copiis**: as opposed to  
 : detachment. Cf. the em-  
**modico**, which indicates that  
 small guard was left behind.  
**s**, etc.: the reading given  
 Weissenborn's) is doubtful,  
 rhaps the best conjecture  
 n be made. The Mss. have  
*obsita virgula*. — **circa**: to  
 en as an adverb. Cf. Gr.  
 — **id quod**, etc.: *i.e.* he suc-  
 in doing what he aimed at,  
**excivit**. Cf. *excitus*, 6. —

**tumultuoso**: *i.e.* the irregular ac-  
 tion of skirmishing. — **fugae**: geni-  
 tive. — **simulanda**, etc.: *i.e.* was  
 necessary to draw the enemy into  
 the ambushade. — **mirabilem**: the  
 flight would have seemed suspicious,  
 but that sudden dashes and retreats  
 were the regular cavalry tactics.

8. **velut**: apparently only belong-  
 ing with **inter** . . . **consilium**,  
 though grammatically it might go  
 with the abl. abs. This sentence is a  
 good example of Livy's compression  
 of many details into one complex  
 sentence. Our logical analysis into  
 main clause and successively subor-  
 dinate ones is almost sure to miss  
 the manner of presentation chosen  
 by the author. The only way to  
 read the sentence is as it is written,  
 something like *And as, while the cav-  
 alry were wavering between the two  
 courses of battle and flight, the foot  
 also began to draw back, the gates  
 were suddenly seen crowded with  
 men, and from them poured a host  
 of the enemy; so, as the Roman line  
 gave way, the zeal of the enemy to  
 press on and pursue hurried them  
 on to the place of the ambushade.*

- gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes impulsa Romana acie studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad  
 9 locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem. Addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum qui in praesidio relictis fuerant. Ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates prius paene quam  
 10 frenis equos, terga vertunt multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen cripuere se hosti: haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obicerentur, velut agmine uno inrumpit.  
 15 Belli Fidenatis contagione inritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate — nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt — et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana

The ultimate result takes the place of main clause; but the vivid details succeed each other in the order of time or natural presentation, and make a picture by a succession of strokes. This is Livy's special art or artless charm. He is always making pictures, and they must be observed as he draws them, stroke after stroke.

9. *transversam, on the flank.* The quality properly belongs adverbially to the Roman attack, but it is transferred in Latin to the enemy, for, of course, each was *transversa* to the other. — *addunt pavorem, a new alarm is added by, etc.* — *mota, etc.*: *i.e.* the guard of the camp marches out in battle array, as if to re-enforce the Romans. — *multiplici, from many quarters.* — *quique, etc., and the horsemen who were with him.* These are mentioned because the movement of the horse would be quicker, and hence there is no need to speak of the foot. — *circumagerent, could wheel;* cf. *esse, 4 n, and see Gr. 551. b.*

10. *effusius: i.e.* than the Romans had before. — *vera:* as opposed to the pretended flight of the Romans. — *simulantes (acc.), the pretended fugitives.*

11. *non:* the emphasis may be rendered by *even so . . . not.* — *haerens, etc.*: the picture is such as would be given by *hanging close on their rear came the Romans, and, etc.* — *fores:* *i.e.* the gates themselves as barriers; *portarum:* the whole aperture. — *obicerentur:* see Gr. 551. b.

#### WAR WITH VEII.

15. *belli:* the emphasis gives an effect like *the war with Fidenae excited the Veientes also to war.* — *et consanguinitate:* parallel with *et quod*, which gives another reason for the excited minds of the Veientes. — *propinquitas:* about a dozen miles off. — *si, etc.*: a protasis to an apodosis implied in *propinquitas*, like, (*which would be very near*) in case, etc.

omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam more belli. Itaque non castris positis, non expectant hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris praedam portantes se rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in castris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intendit Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere vidit, et urbem accessurum Veientes audire, obviam missi, ut potius acie decernerent quam inclusi de tectis militibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte adiutis cum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicerit, secutusque fusos ad moenia hostes urbe valida muris circumditi ipso munita abstinuit; agros rediens vastat incendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem cum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis tantum annos indutiae datae. Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, cum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatis post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avitoperando, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello urbi firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis cum valuit ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam

excucurrerunt: *sc. Veientes, in-*  
*in Veientium animi.*—*iusti,*  
*r,* as opposed to predatory  
*populabundi*).

*raptam, etc., they stole booty,*  
 See note to 14. 8.—*hostem:*  
*y* went out, but found nobody  
*to fight with.*—*ultimae: i.e. deci-*  
*instructus: physically ready;*  
*us: morally prepared.*

*intendere, accessurum: notice*  
*reference in tense.*—*de, for, in*  
*of; properly, about.*  
*arte, stratagem; such as he*

had used against Fidenæ.—*ul-*  
*scendi: the gerund in Latin is prac-*  
*tically a noun, and is therefore used*  
*in the same construction with one.*

6. *haec ferme, etc., this is about*  
*what, etc.*—*absonum, inconsistent*  
*with.*—*fidei: see Gr. 384.*—  
*animus: i.e. the lofty ambition he*  
*displayed.*—*consilium, etc.: which*  
*also indicated a great soul.*

7. *ab illo: i.e. for it was he*  
*who gave the city its strength,—*  
*a strength that, etc.*—*tutam, un-*  
*disturbed.*

- 8 *pacem haberet.* Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos *Celeres* appellavit, non in bello solum; sed etiam in pace habuit.
- 16 His immortalibus editis operibus cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae Paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris
- 2 Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebatur patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquam-
- 3 diu silentium obtinuit. Deinde, a paucis initio facto, deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent, pacem precibus expo-

8. *tamen*: *i.e.* though he showed this divine genius, yet he was not so acceptable to the higher classes. — *trecentosque*: *i.e.* in fact on these he especially relied as a guard. — *Celeres*: this was the old name of the equites, and Livy probably conceives the guard as cavalry.

#### DEATH OF ROMULUS; HIS CHARACTER.

16. *immortalibus*: in reference to the allusions above to his divine origin and the divine character of his actions. — *contionem*: an assembly of the people in their character as warriors, — a character which the assemblies of the people ever maintained more or less. — *campo*: the Campus Martius, as in later times. Livy's traditions, as well as the facts themselves, mingle

the usages of different periods in the development of the city. — *Caprae Paludem*: traditionally located in the *prata Flaminia*, where afterward was the Flaminian Circus, just west of the Capitol, between that and the river. — *fragore*: the noise of the thunder only; *tonitribus*: including also the lightning. — *nimbo*: Cicero seems to treat this as an eclipse (*Rep.* I. 16). — *nec, and . . . not*; the usual meaning.

2. *pubes*: the regular term for the able-bodied men in military service. — *pavore*: the sudden alarm of the occasion (cf. *metu* below, the continuing fear that they should be like orphans deprived of their parent); cf. *pavor praesens*, 4. — *postquam*, etc.: cf. 14. 8 n.

3. *salvere*: *i.e.* they cried *salve, deus deo nate*, etc. — *universi, they*

uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet proge-

Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos qui discerptum  
patrum manibus taciti arguerent: manavit enim  
quoque, sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admi-  
viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit.

consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur 5

Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate deside-  
gis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis  
ae rei auctor in contionem prodit. 'Romulus,' 6  
'Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna  
caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum  
sus horrore venerabundus adstissem, petens pre-  
ut contra intueri fas esset, "Abi, nuntia" inquit 7  
manis, caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis  
tum sit; proinde rem militarem colant sciantque  
posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Ro-  
s resistere posse." Haec' inquit 'locutus sublimis

*by one accord.* — *iubent*: the word for such salutations, *cf. ibid.* — *uti*, etc.: the clause is anatory apposition to *pacem*. — *ens propitius*: strict religious expressions in prayers.

*n*: the emphasis represents phatic *tuam* in the prayer, giving the emphasis of *tu*, which is particularly emphatic in such cases. — the alliteration which is characteristic of religious and other for-

*uisse*, etc., *I have no doubt were some even then.* — *ma-*

indicating a slender stream dition. — *enim*: explaining the nature of the suspicion. — *obscura*, *very little known.* —

see Gr. 297. *b.* — *pavor*: meaning nature of the phenomenon. — *nobilitavit*: opposed to *per-*

*ra.* — *consilio*, *by the set purpose;*

*i.e.* by an intentional device, as opposed to the causes just mentioned.

— *addita . . . fides*, *additional credit was gained.* — *sollicita*: *cf. orbitatis metu*, 2. — *infensa*: from the suspicion above referred to. — *gravis*, *weighty*; *i.e.* his authority carries weight. — *quamvis magnae*: *i.e.* however serious the matter he had to tell might be.

6. *delapsus*: the regular word for such a descent. — *adstissem*, *I stood before him.* Cf. Gr. 476. *N.* — *contra*, etc.: from a notion that looking at the gods face to face was presumptuous, and so impious.

7. *ut . . . sit*: this is an object clause proceeding from purpose (Gr. 563); the use of *ita* only shows that the *ut* clause is coming, without indicating whether it is result or purpose. — *proinde*: the usual illative word when an exhortation follows. — *posse*: of course,

8 abiit.' Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.

- 17 Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat. Necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat: factionibus inter  
 2 ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post  
 3 Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnum, in societate aequa possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis  
 4 regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari  
 tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum ex-  
 4 perta. Timor deinde patres incessit ne civitatem sine

the indirect discourse construction, as a statement to be made (*tradant posteris*); but it is preceded by *ita* (not *id*), just as the wish above is preceded by *ita* with *velle*.

8. *mirum*: *sc. est*, with the indirect question for its subject. — *desiderium*, grief for the loss of; the regular meaning of the word; see *Harvard Studies*, Vol. I. p. 96. — *facta fide*, by the confirmation of the belief.

INTERREGNUM; CHOICE OF DECEMVIRI AS CHIEF MAGISTRATES.

17. *patrum*: as opposed to the plebs, whose state of mind has just been described. Keep the emphasis and the perspective of the sentence by a change of voice. — *certamen*: the immediate struggle for the throne; *cupido*: more general, something like *ambition*. — *pervenerat*: *sc. certamen* (but the reading is uncertain). — *factionibus*, by *factions*; the means used by the two great race-parties (*ordines*) to secure the power through their dependents and connections.

2. *sua*: we should expect *eorum*; but the thought is partially put into the minds of the Sabines, yet not sufficiently to change the mood of the verb. — in *societate aequa*: *i.e. though* in a partnership that should be equal. The Latin abounds, especially in later writers, with such indefinite expressions that are to be interpreted by the context.

3. in *variis*, etc.: *i.e. though* their views *varied*, yet all were unanimous for a *king* (cf. last note); the effect here is produced, however, by the emphatic position of *variis* and *regnari*. — *tamen*: *i.e. notwithstanding* the want of agreement.

4. *timor*: as opposed to the desire before mentioned. — *civitatem*, etc.: notice the Livian painting by successive strokes: *lest, the state being without a ruler, the army without a leader, the feelings of, etc., irritated, they* (the country) *should be attacked*, etc. The items of the description are put in without regard to clear syntax. Whatever can be governed by the verb goes into the accusative, and all the other

io, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum  
tis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse  
aliquod caput placebat et nemo alteri concedere  
mum inducebat.

rem inter se centum patres, decem decuriis factis 5  
lisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summae  
praeessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant,  
cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat, quinque 6  
n spatio finiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem  
unnumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod  
quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum.

re thrown in as modifying  
stances, though they all stand  
same relation to the main  
. If the sentence will  
that is enough, and even  
sometimes overlooked. —  
cf. note to 14. 7. — *vis*:  
ely *power* in our sense, which  
gular never means, but *vio*-  
unjust, or at least aggressive.  
*at the same time*, the two  
s being opposed, although  
ate; cf. the frequent use of  
*ita, although . . . yet*. —  
notice the emphasis, *that*  
*could* BE, etc. — *alteri*: cf.  
.. N.

a, so, under these circum-  
— *rem*, the government, as  
tly. — *centum*: what be-  
the other hundred senators  
5) Livy does not say. Prob-  
the multitude of varying tra-  
he didn't know very well  
— *decem*, etc.: the state-  
s near as can be made out  
s words, is that the senators  
the regal power, acting ten  
ne as a college (cf. the later  
*vi*). One senator was chosen  
d for each decury (*singulis*  
*ulas decurias*) as a presi-  
the college and formal sov-

ereign (*qui summae*, etc.). There  
were *ten* who had the magisterial  
power (*imperitabant*), but one  
only who had the *insignia*. Livy  
does not distinctly say, and only  
blindly implies, that the *college*  
changed at all. But as Dionysius'  
account indicates that it did, we may  
presume that Livy conceived the  
matter the same way. Neither the  
hundred senators of Livy nor the two  
hundred of Dionysius (II. 57) divided  
into decuries holding five days apiece  
(*quinque dierum spatio*) would  
make an even year. If, however,  
there were three hundred, as is most  
likely, a hundred of each great stock,  
then two turns would make out a  
year of three hundred days. But  
the subject is a much mooted one.  
— *creatis*: this word must be used  
of the *election* of the one man who  
held the insignia. — *consociant*:  
the *patres* divided the power among  
them, holding it, however, only  
ten at a time, but all holding it  
successively (*per omnes in or-*  
*bem*).

6. *imperium*: *i.e.* of each  
decury in turn. — *ab re*, from  
the fact that it was an interval  
between two *reges*. — *nunc*, etc.:  
the *interrex* continued to be the

- 7 Fremere deinde plebs, multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem, et ab  
 8 ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ultro rati quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt summa potestate populo permissa,  
 9 ut non plus darent iuris quam detinerent. Decreverunt enim ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem ius vi adempta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt.
- 10 Tum interrex contione advocata 'Quod bonum faustum felixque sit,' inquit 'Quirites, regem create: ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab

regular means of passing on the *imperium* if a consular election for any reason failed, even to the end of the republic.

7. *fremere*: notice the emphasis: *then there were murmurs among the commons*. — *ultra*, *any longer*; in this sense it seems to be a popular word coming to the surface in later times. — *nisi*, *anything but*. — *ab ipsis*: instead of the *patres*. — *passuri*: see Gr. 498. a.

8. *ea moveri*: *i.e.* the revolution implied in *nec . . . passuri*. — *ita*: belonging to the whole clause, but, of course, only a limitation of *permissa*. — *populo*: loosely used for *plebs*, with which in later times it became identified for the most part, though often distinguished, as in the phrase *populus plebesque Romanus*. — *iuris*, *rights*.

9. *iussisset*: the technical term for a vote of the people. — *sic . . . si*, *only . . . in case*, with its very common force of a limitation. — *ratum*, *valid*. — *patres*: here meaning *the senate*, whether the word is

strictly used or not. — *auctores fierent*, *should ratify*; *auctor* is a voucher or responsible party to an action, and so one who ratifies or makes valid. — *rogandis*: the technical term for the action of the magistrate who put the question to the people, as *iubeo* is for their action; see above. — *ius*, *form*; properly the right which is still formally recognized. — *adempta*: because the act of the senate was required to be performed beforehand by the *lex Publilia* in 339 B.C., and about fifty years later by the *lex Maenia*. — *ineat*: the subjunctive as a part of the intention of the law; cf. 14. 4 n.

10. *tum*: as opposed to the modern practice (cf. *hodie*, 9), — resuming the narrative. — *interrex*: the presiding officer of the board of ten. — *contione*: a mass-meeting for communication (see 8. 1 n.); not as yet a *comitia* or town-meeting. — *quod*, etc.: the regular formula, having some variations of words, with which official acts were begun, something like "God save the Common-

ulo numeretur crearetis, auctores fient.' Adeo id in plebi fuit ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id sciscerent iuberentque, ut senatus decerneret qui ae regnaret.

clita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pom- 18  
rat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus vir,  
1 illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini  
e humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non 2  
ut alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem  
io Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post  
s in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum Hera-  
nque et Crotonam iuvenum aemulantium studia  
is habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem 3

of Massachusetts," at the  
a proclamation.  
victi beneficio, surpassed  
rtesy. — sciscerent: another  
cal term for deliberative action  
there is full power. — qui:  
found instead of the regular

use of *ut*, though the opposite mean-  
ing, *as is natural*, is also com-  
mon; cf. note to *in societate*, 17. 2.  
— quisquam: the underlying neg-  
ative idea, 'nobody could be,' etc.,  
occasions the use of this pronoun;  
cf. Gr. 311, 312. — aetate: for  
the order see Gr. 598. *c.* The  
construction with *in* hardly differs  
from the ablative, but is allowed on  
account of the time being conceived  
as space and circumstances rather  
than mere date. — divini: every-  
thing relating to religious practice  
and observance (*religio*); hu-  
mani: everything relating to social  
and international relations (*iustitia*).

#### ION AND INAUGURATION OF NUMA.

inclita, etc.: notice the or-  
hich gives a rhetorical effect  
*mons for justice and piety* . . .  
*e name of Numa*; (he did not  
Rome, but) *Cures of the Sa-  
vas his dwelling-place*, etc. —  
ie: probably a later invented  
ie, connected with *vóuos*, nu-  
, etc. — Pompili: a form in  
abine dialect, equivalent to  
ilius (cf. *πέντε, πέμπε*). The  
name may be invented;  
ie part is a natural Sabine  
the other a nickname. — Sa-  
the Sabines were famous in  
imes for their conservative,  
us and moral character,  
e the mention of the nation  
— *ut*, *so far as*; a common

2. auctorem, teacher; cf. *auc-  
tores*, 17. 9 n. — Pythagoram: as  
he introduced Greek culture into  
Magna Græcia, and was the most  
famous sage of those early times, it  
was natural to give him credit for  
all the wisdom that appeared in  
Italy. Livy does not generally  
commit himself about traditions,  
but this one he expressly combats.

3. ex quibus, etc.: the four  
points are: 1. That he lived more  
than a hundred years after; 2. That

aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quoque praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suapte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina taetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.

- 5 Audito nomine Numae patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur; tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publi-

there was no chance to hear about him at Cures, even if he had lived at the same time; 3. The difference of language; 4. The impossibility of a journey to those cities through barbarous tribes, without community of language or customs with the Sabines. — *fama*: *sc. adlata esset*, which is naturally implied in the context. — *excivisset*: *sc. fama*. It would need some knowledge of Greek to arouse a barbarian to desire to hear a Greek philosopher.

4. *ingenio*, native powers. — *temperatum*, *developed*; properly, *compounded*, so as by its different ingredients to make a fine and noble nature. — *opinor magis*, *I fancy, rather*. — *instructum*, *trained*; properly, *furnished*. — *artibus*, *learning*; properly, *courses of instruction*, particularly philosophy, as theoretical. — *disciplina*, *mode of life*; the practical training according to the strict puritanic rules of

the ascetic Sabines. — *genere, race*.

5. *audito*: the beginning of the chapter implies that his name was mentioned in connection with the throne as a man eminent in the necessary qualifications. — *patres*: Livy thinks of them as only Romans. — *inclinari*: almost equal to a future; but the meaning of the verb allows the present to be used with *rege sumpto* as a future protasis. See Gr. 496. — *inde*: *i.e.* from the Sabines; see Gr. 321. *a.* — *patrum aut civium*: here opposed as nobles and commons. — *illi viro*, *this great man*. — *ad unum, unanimously*. — *decernunt*: Livy represents the senate as choosing the king; other writers make the people elect him. Cf. Cic. *Rep.* II. 13, 25.

6. *sicut, just as*. — *augurato*: see Gr. 419. *c.* — *urbe condenda*, *at the building of the city*; a loose use of the ablative of manner. See Gr. 507 and examples. — *cui de*

cum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur 7 ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dexteram ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septemtrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime 8 conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum, lituo in laevam manum translato, dextra in caput Numae imposita, precatus ita est: 'Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc 9 Numam Pompilius, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines quos feci.' Tum peregit verbis auspicia quae mitti vellet; quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

inde, etc.: Livy thinks of the public institution of augury as only then established, and the earlier practice of it as a private proceeding, which, of course, could hardly have been true. — *honoris ergo*: i.e. to give dignity to the function. — *perpetuum*, permanent; opposed to the occasional exercise of the functions. — *arcem*: apparently the Capitoline Hill.

7. *ad laevam*: at his left, and probably so as to look towards the south. — *in urbem agrumque*: if the augur faced south, as is likely, though not entirely clear from Livy's account, the city lay before him, a little to the left, and his view extended over it and the adjoining country (*ager Romanus*) beyond the hills. — *determinavit*: i.e. drawing a line through the heavens from east to west, he arbitrarily determined what sights should be *dextra* and what *laeva*.

8. *signum*, etc.: i.e. he had a field of view between himself and the horizon, divided by a circle passing through the zenith. Whatever flight of birds or other phenomenon appeared within this field was significant, and to be interpreted according to the side in which it appeared. Livy doesn't mention the meridian line distinctly, but he does not necessarily exclude it.

9. *Romae*: locative. — *certa*: i.e. about which there may be no doubt. — *adclarassis*: an old form and a technical word. The construction is an old one of wishing (Gr. 442. a). For the tense see Gr. 441. a. — *peregit*, etc.: i.e. he stated what phenomena, according to the established ritual, would be a sign of approval. — *templo*: Livy probably has in his mind a permanent *auguraculum* or *auguratorium* built later on the Capitoline; but the word equally applies to any spot

- 19 Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.
- 4 Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea

without buildings consecrated by the augural proceedings.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF NUMA.

19. ita: *i.e.* thus chosen and inaugurated. — conditam vi, etc.: *i.e.* established in material power as a warlike nation. — iure, etc.: *i.e.* its civil institutions.

2. adsuescere: *sc.* populum below. — efferari: indirect discourse; Gr. 583. *b. N.* — Ianum: this is represented on coins as merely an arch or gate. Its connection with Numa, as well as the reason given for building it, must be an invention. Such customs always grow. — Argiletum (*clay-pits*): a locality northeast of the forum.

3. T. Manlio, etc.: *i.e.* B.C. 235. — post bellum Actiacum, etc.: *i.e.* B.C. 29.

4. iunxisset animos, had secured the good will. — luxuriarent: *i.e.* grow wanton and lawlessly self-indulgent. — illis saeculis rudem: *i.e.* uncultivated as it was in those times, as opposed to the present cultivation and consequent freedom from superstition. — iniciendum: *i.e.* he must inspire them with another controlling force to take the place of the constraining effect of war.

5. commento, invention, implying that it was only an artifice of Numa's. Livy generally writes in a religious spirit, but occasionally his

ia congressus nocturnos esse, eius se monitu, quae  
tissima diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes  
cuique deorum praeficere.

que omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim  
es describit annum, quem, quia tricenos dies singu- 6  
ensibus luna non explet desuntque dies solido anno,  
olstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis mensibus  
ponendis ita dispensavit ut vicesimo anno ad metam  
em solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum  
is dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque 7  
quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum

im sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quam-20

ef in the legends is expressly  
ward or accidentally shows  
h; cf. 18. 2 n. — **Egeria**: a  
one of the Camenæ.

**mnium primum**: the im-  
ce of this as a religious mat-  
mes from the fact that the  
ls depended on it. — **ad cur-**  
**inae**: i.e. the months were  
ed by the moon, but the  
ear is arranged by some other

— **tricenos**: the mean lunar  
is eleven hours fifty-six min-  
ort of thirty days, and a year  
lve such months lacks about  
days of the solar year. Even  
lays to a month does not give  
full year. — **solstitiali**, etc.:  
e year as it brings the sun  
o the solstice. — **intercalariis**  
**bus**: the Romans inserted  
s instead of days to regulate  
alendar. — **vicesimo**: Livy  
ly has in his mind the cycle  
on of nineteen years, in which  
came back to the same sign  
zodiac from which it started  
beginning. The whole story  
doubt one manufactured in  
nes. — **metam**, etc.: i.e. the

solstice would come at the same  
date. — **plenis spatiis**: i.e. the time  
of the nineteen (or twenty) solar  
years would be exactly filled out by  
the months.

7. **nefastos**: i.e. properly days  
when it is *nefas* to hold courts. Livy  
here refers to days when it was not  
permitted to hold meetings. These  
were really different from the un-  
lawful court days, but perhaps not  
made so until later than this time.  
— **utile, convenient**, i.e. for the king  
and the nobles. The Roman relig-  
ion was in later times a very conve-  
nient political weapon.

#### RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONARIES.

20. **sacerdotibus**: there were  
two classes of religious function-  
aries at Rome, — special priests  
of particular divinities (*flamines*)  
and general supervisors of relig-  
ious matters (*pontifices*). There  
was also a *rex sacrificulus* es-  
tablished after the overthrow of  
the kings. All religious observances  
of great antiquity were ascribed to  
Numa, but some of them evidently

- quam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quae nunc  
 2 ad Dialectum flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate  
 bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges  
 putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae  
 vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsidium sacerdotem  
 creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella ador-  
 navit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum  
 3 Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacer-  
 dotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduæ  
 templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit,  
 virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas  
 fecit.  
 4 Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit tunicaeque  
 pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori  
 tegumen caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur,

belonged to the earliest customs of the Latin race. — *ipse*: no doubt, as in all kingdoms of patriarchal origin, the king, as head of the clan, could perform sacrifices. Cf. the *rex sacrificulus*. — *ea maxime*, etc.: these are assigned to the king as being the most venerable rites in the state. — *Dialectum flaminem*: the official title of the special priest of Jupiter. He was the most venerable and privileged of all the functionaries except the *rex sacrificulus*, who was substituted for the king himself, and formally represented him. The name *flamen* doubtless refers to building fires on the altar (cf. *conflare aes*).

2. *regiae vicis*, belonging to the office of the king. — *adsidium*, in constant attendance; so much so that he could not leave the city to be gone over night. — *veste*: he wore the *toga praetexta*, and a peculiar felt cap with a little cone (*apex*) and a fillet of wool on the top. His life was also surrounded

by a great number of religious restrictions. See Gell. X. 15.

3. *virgines*: these nuns, originally probably the custodians of fire in a community where it could not easily be obtained, became later an important body in the Roman religion. Their convent has lately been excavated at Rome. — *Alba*: though Numa is called the founder of the institution, yet, as Romulus was said to be a son of one of the virgins, it was necessary to account for this seeming discrepancy. They no doubt go back to the age of savagery. — *virginitate*, chastity. — *caerimoniis*, observances. — *venerabiles*, reverend. — *sanctas*, inviolable; as under the protection of religion.

4. *Gradivo*: the gods were worshipped in various phases and at various places in such a way that one deity was often multiplied into several, like the later saints — *ancilia*: shields of peculiar shape, one of which was supposed to have

ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis  
mnique saltatu iussit.  
pontificem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex  
bus legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque  
ruit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa  
fierent atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogar-  
et. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra  
ificis scitis subiecit, ut esset quo consultum plebes  
et, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios ritus  
grinosque adsciscendo turbaretur, nec caelestes  
caerimonias, sed iusta quoque funebria placandos-  
manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia  
inibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque  
rentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi  
o aram in Aventino dicavit deumque consuluit  
riis, quae suscipienda essent.

from heaven.—*carmina*, etc.:  
sage was retained long after  
ords of the songs had become  
lligible.—*tripudiis*, etc.: ap-  
ly a kind of Indian war-dance,  
ch the priests dramatically rep-  
ed the divinity (cf. *Gradivus*).  
*sit*: the starting of such a  
ony all of a sudden by order  
a king seems as absurd as  
be the establishment of All  
v E'en by act of Congress.  
*acra*, etc.: there seem to have  
several sets of records in re-  
o religious matters, gradually  
ulated like modern law deci-  
the hands of the pontifices;  
8, 32. 2, and XI. 29. 7.—*ex-  
a exsignataque*: apparently  
(informally) and duly authen-  
' (in a formal manner).—*at-*  
*t, assigned*; i.e. put into his  
to be interpreted and made  
on occasion.—*quibus*  
s: it was this knowledge

of the calendar that gave the pa-  
tricians later such a control over  
the whole government and admin-  
istration.—*eos sumptus*: i.e. of  
the sacrifices.

7. *caelestes*: i.e. of the gods  
above as opposed to the spirits of  
the dead in the world below.—  
*iusta, due*, with the proper solemn-  
ities which were necessary to 'lay  
the spirits' (*placandos manes*),  
which in all early civilizations are  
regarded as more or less inclined  
to take offence and do mischief.—  
*quo*: indefinite.—*susciperentur*,  
*taken up, noticed* as significant,  
in contrast to others which would be  
unimportant and neglected.—*cura-*  
*rentur*: here equal to *procurare*,  
the technical term for doing the  
things which would *avert* evils  
threatened by an omen.—*ea*: sc.  
*prodigia*; a short expression for  
the knowledge of *suscipienda pro-*  
*digia*, in contrast with others.

- 21 Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant et deorum assidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat ut fides ac iusiurandum proximo legum ac poenarum metu civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violare ducerent nefas.
- 3 Lucus erat quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua; quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum

(cf. *quae suscipienda essent* below), and of the means of averting them. — *Elicio*: cf. note to *Gratidivo*, 4. — *essent*: indirect question.

#### OTHER RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

21. *haec*: i.e. the religious institutions mentioned. — *procuranda*: here not in its technical sense, but in the general one of *arranging*. — *et animi*, etc.: the two results of the policy pursued are co-ordinated by the two conjunctions. The first result accords with *ne luxuriarent*, etc., 19. 4, and is opposed in a manner to *a vi et armis conversa*, a condition of which the effect was feared by Numa. There is a double relation between this result and the preceding condition which expresses at once in a condensed form both the difficulty and its remedy. The second result has reference to 19. 1 and 2. — *occupati*: regularly as an

adjective; see Gr. 495. — *deorum*: notice the formal opposition between *animi* (implying the people) and *deorum* (the divinities), where the real contrast is between the two results, one affecting their *minds*, the other their *hearts* (*pectora*). — *insidens cura*: combined into a single idea, which is then modified by *assidua*. — *interesse*, *have a hand (in)*. — *fides*, etc.: religious qualities, opposed to the human institutions (*legum*, etc.). — *proximo*: i.e. being second in importance as factors.

2. *ipsi*: opposed to *finitimi*. — *formarent*: for mood see Gr. 549. b. — *civitatem*: the emphasis expresses something like *when a city was like THAT, entirely devoted, etc., they considered it sacrilegious to injure it*.

3. *lucus*: the grove was just outside the Porta Capena. — *quia ... inferebat*: the reason assigned by Livy, — to ensure privacy. — *deae*

avit, quod earum ibi concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria  
nt. Et soli Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacra- 4  
flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit manumque  
ligitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, signifi-  
es fidem tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dextris  
atam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris facien- 5  
quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium  
en maximum eius operum fuit tutela per omne regni  
us haud minor pacis quam regni.  
a duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic 6  
, civitatem auxerunt; Romulus septem et triginta  
avit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida  
temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.  
umae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum 22  
tilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce clara  
a adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit;

a. — *quod . . . essent*: the  
d of Numa's action assigned  
nself, and given in a slightly  
nt tone; cf. *velut* in the pre-  
g line.

*soli*: *i.e.* apparently the only  
f that sort of divinities, ab-  
qualities, such as became  
ommon in Rome later; cf. 27.  
*sacrum*: the shrine, which  
in the Capitol. — *flamines*:  
mentioned in 20. 2; see note.  
*gis*, etc.: *i.e.* a two-horse cov-  
rriage. — *tutandam*: this  
i is no doubt the attempted  
ation of an old custom. —  
i: *i.e.* not only in shrine and  
but also on the person, where-  
hen a promise was made by  
ng hands, as was usual, it  
be as sacred as if made in  
ple or the like.

*faciendis*: see Gr. 505. *b*;  
d construction mostly anti-  
i. — *quae*: contrary to the

usual rule, *hoc opus, hic labor est*;  
see Gr. 296. *a*. — *Argeos*: these  
were six chapels for local worship  
in each of the four regions of the  
city. There is good reason to be-  
lieve that Greeks had been buried  
alive under them. In later times  
after their origin was forgotten their  
place seems to have been taken by  
the shrines of the Lares Compitales.  
Local arrangements for public wor-  
ship somewhat like parish churches  
were regular with the Romans. —  
*pontifices*, etc.: as these matters  
had long gone out of use, they were a  
matter of antiquity known only to the  
*pontifices*. — *tutela*, maintenance.

6. *temperata*, well organised;  
properly, regulated by a suitable  
mixture; cf. 18. 4.

#### ACCESSION OF TULLUS.

22. *interregnum*: cf. 17. 5. —  
*pugna*: see 12. 2. — *iussit*: in  
its technical meaning of elected.

- 2 patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas viresque tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat.
- 3 Forte evenit ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro,  
4 Albani ex Romano praedas invicem agerent. Imperitabat tum Gaius Cluilius Albae. Vtrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis ne quid prius quam mandata agerent; satis sciebat negaturum Albanum: ita pie bellum indici posse.
- 5 Ab Albanis socordius res acta; excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne comi fronte regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec renuntiant Tullo.
- 6 Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, fecit. Illi omnium ignari primum purgando terunt tempus: se invitos quicquam quod minus placeat Tullo dicturos, sed imperio subigi: res repetitum se
- 7 venisse, ni reddantur, bellum indicere iussos. Ad haec Tullus 'Nuntiate' inquit 'regi vestro, regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes

2. *senescere*, lose its vigor; cf. *senium*. — *materiam*, occasions; properly, something to make war out of.

4. *imperitabat*, the supreme commander . . . was; probably a dictator, but cf. *regi*, 7, below. — *ne quid*: sc. *aliud*. — *ita*: i.e. by the demand and refusal. — *pie*, justly, but with reference to their duty to the gods.

5. *comi fronte*: with *celebrant*.

6. *omnium*: the facts in 4. — *purgando*, in apologies; i.e. as became guests hospitably received when on a disagreeable mission. — *quicquam*: this pronoun is used on account of the negative in *invitos*. — *placeat*: characteristic subjunctive (Gr. 535). — *reddantur*: for tense see Gr. 585. b. n.

7. *uter*, etc.: i.e. the gods were to bear witness which of the two was the aggressor, so that they might inflict, etc.

legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant huiusce clades belli.'

Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque **23** summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Troianam utramque prolem, cum Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus **2** tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod nec acie certatum est et tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores **3** ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passum locant, fossa circumdant—fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius, Albanus **4** rex, moritur, dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant.

Interim Tullus ferox praecipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit **5**

**dimiserit**: indirect question. — **in eum expetant**: a mixture of two constructions, *in eum vertant clades* and *ab eo expetant poenas*; cf. *expetiturum poenas*, 23. 4. — **huiusce**: for form see Gr. 146. a. N. 1.

#### WAR WITH ALBA.

**23. civili**: *i.e.* between fellow-citizens; **inter parentes**, etc.: still more than fellow-citizens.

**2. acie**: because only three fought on each side. — **tectis modo**, etc.: without any loss of life.

**3. milia**: see Gr. 407. c. — **pas-**

**sum**: shorter form instead of *passum*. — **re**, etc.: *i.e.* the ditch disappeared, and the name of the place was forgotten also.

**4. rex**: here Livy thinks of him as a king, contrary to *imperitabat*, 22. 4. — **ferox**: not at all like *ferocious*, but *confident*, *emboldened*. — **magnum**. . . **numen**: equivalent to *overruling power*. — **capite**: *i.e.* Cluilius, upon whom it had already taken vengeance. — **in**. . . **nomen**: cf. *in eum*, 22. 7 n.

**5. stativis**, camp; so called as being a permanent one, and not

Mettium. Ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest. Inde legatum praemissum nuntiare Tullo iubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio; si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum quae nihil minus ad rem  
 6 Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana adferri rebatur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani.

Postquam structi utrimque stabant, cum paucis pro-  
 7 cerum in medium duces prodeunt. Ibi inquit Albanus: 'Iniurias et non redditas res, ex foedere quae repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilius causam huiusce esse belli audisse videor nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre. Sed si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos  
 8 ad arma stimulat. Neque recte an perperam interpretor; fuerit ista eius deliberatio qui bellum suscepit. Me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim: Etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis, hoc magis scis. Mul-

merely the usual night encampment. — **quam proxime**: *i.e.* by the shortest route. — **dimicent**: see Gr. 551. c. In this case the subjunctive is necessary on account of the indirect discourse. — **opus esse**, *it was desirable to have*; a shade of meaning which *opus est* often has.

6. **vana adferri**: *i.e.* that the proposition to be made was a useless one. — **in aciem educit**: this is not inconsistent with the preceding, because the presence of the two armies would be a natural accompaniment of such a meeting. Cf. I. 7. — **stabant**: the imperfect with *postquam*, referring to a past state of things, is common in Livy; see Gr. 543. a.

7. **ex foedere**: doubtless some

old treaty not mentioned by Livy. — **et**: correlative to **nec**. — **ego**: although there is an opposition between this and **te**, yet it is only a formal one. The real opposition is **regem** and **te**, Tulle. — **regem**: *sc. dicentem* or *dicere*. — **ferre**: the later writers begin to use the accusative and infinitive after *non dubito* as with other *verba sentiendi*.

8. **recte an perperam**: *i.e. recte tene stimulet an*, etc. — **fuerit**: *i.e.* that it is his concern, etc. See Gr. 439. N. 1. — **eius**: *i.e.* King Cluilius. — **me**, etc.: *i.e.* I have only been chosen to carry on a war already in progress. — **illud**: cognate accusative; see Gr. 390. c. — **monitum**: for the construction see Gr. 486. d. and N. — **maxime**: *empha-*

tum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto, iam 9  
cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo  
fore, ut fessos confectosque simul victorem ac victum  
adgrediantur. Itaque si nos di amant, quoniam non  
contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitii-  
que aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam qua utri utris impe-  
rent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque  
populi decerni possit.' Haud displicet res Tullo, quam- 10  
quam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat.  
Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa  
praebuit materiam.

Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fra- 24  
tres nec aetate nec viribus dispares: Horatios Curia-  
tiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia  
est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet,  
utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores  
utroque trahunt: plures tamen invenio qui Romanos  
Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar inclinatur animus.

Cum trigeminis agunt reges ut pro sua quisque patria 2  
dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore unde victoria fuerit.  
Nihil recusatur, tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam 3  
dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos  
est his legibus, ut, cuius[que] populi cives eo certa-

sizing te; i.e. you more than any-  
body.—terra, mari: as in the regu-  
lar *terra marique*; see Gr. 427. a.

9. *memor esto*: not merely re-  
member, but you must bear in mind;  
hence the future imperative.—iam  
cum, just as soon as.—spectaculo,  
etc.: the real thought is, they will  
be on the watch to, etc.—imperant:  
not only an indirect question, but a  
deliberative one; see Gr. 575. b.—  
magna: i.e. without the great loss  
that will be incurred if we fight.

10. fortuna: cf. forte below.

THE HORATHI AND CURIATHI.

24. duobus: i.e. in each of  
the two,—a sense which is given  
by the emphasis.—dispares: i.e.  
the two sets.—nobilior: i.e. better  
known.—re: notice the antithesis  
to *nominum*.—error, uncertainty.

2. cum . . . agunt: in its com-  
mon sense of 'deal with,' urge  
upon.—unde: like a *dextro cornu*  
and the like.

3. dimicarent: for mood see Gr.  
551. b.—cuius[que]: if que is re-  
tained, the use of quisque for qui-

mine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.

- Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia  
 4 fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior  
 foederis memoria est. Fœtialis regem Tullum ita rogavit:  
 'Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrâto populi Albani foedus  
 ferire?' Iubente rege, 'Sagmina' inquit 'te, rex, posco.'  
 5 Rex ait 'Puram tollito.' Fœtialis ex arce graminis herbam  
 puram attulit, postea regem ita rogavit: 'Rex, facisne  
 me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa  
 comitesque meos?' Rex respondit: 'Quod sine fraude

*cunque* must be considered colloquial, like its use in Plautus, etc. — *cives*: i.e. the three champions. — *cum bona pace*, without demur; i.e. on the part of the subject nation. — *alia aliis*: i.e. whatever the conditions of the compact, the manner of making it is the same.

4. *ita*, as follows. — *ullius*, etc.: i.e. this is the earliest of which we have any record. — *fœtialis*: a priest, or one of a college of priests, who, under the protection of religion, like the Greek *κῆρυξ*, acted as the means of communication between hostile nations. It is doubtless from books of ritual of such a college that Livy or his authority gets the formulæ here given. The institution is evidently an old Latin one, said to have come from the *Æquiculi* (32. 5). — *patre patrâto*: by the account given here this functionary would seem to have been the spokesman and active celebrant of the rites on behalf of the embassy. There is nothing to indicate that he was other than a *fœtialis*. The function seems to have belonged to the whole college, and to have been performed by a temporary chairman. The origin of the participle is uncertain; perhaps it was originally used of one not really the

father of the clan, but made so. — *iubente rege*: i.e. saying *iubeo* in answer to the question preceding. — *sagmina*: evidently connected with *sancio* (*sac-men*), as the means of making sacred the proceedings, like the olive branch (*ικερνπλα*) of the Greeks. It seems to have been used of a particular plant, but what one is uncertain. A special virtue was no doubt assigned to it, as often to many other plants; but with this sacred character is evidently confounded a representative character symbolic of the place of its growth, the Capitoline Hill. — *puram*, free from (irreligious) taint.

5. *graminis herbam*, a growing plant of the sacred herb. — *regium*, etc.: as much as of the king of the Roman people, indicating with ritual verbosity the official character of the proceeding. — *vasa* (co-ordinate with me), *utensils*; a word derived from common use, like 'traps' or 'baggage,' referring here to the *silex*, *verbena*, etc. — *comites*: there seem to have been three in all, the *pater patratus*, the *verbenarius*, and the original *fœtialis*. — *fraude*, etc., harm to, etc.; an earlier meaning of the word. — *quod . . . fiat*, so far as may be; a

mea populi que Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.' Fetalis erat M. Valerius. Is patrem patratum Spurium Fusium fecit, verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est sanciendum fit foedus, multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, 'Audi,' inquit 'Iuppiter, audi, pater patratus populi Albani, audi tu, populus Albanus: ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum tu, ille Diespiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque.' Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

common proviso, apparently of a religious character, as if it were *quoad fas est*. For mood see Gr. 535. *d*.

6. *ad ius*, etc.: an attempted etymology, possibly the right one; but see above. — *patrandum*: from *pater*, perhaps originally in a literal sense; cf. *pario* and 'get.' — *carmine*: the regular word for *formula* as originally in metre. — *non operae est*, *I haven't time*; a colloquial expression, as in Plautus; cf. Gell. VI. (VII.) 17. 11.

7. *populus Albanus*: in apposition with *tu*, hence nominative instead of the expected vocative. — *prima postrema*: from first to last. The apposition and asyndeton are both formalistic. — *tabulis cerave*, etc.: notice the verbiage of legal and religious style. — *sine dolo malo*, *in good faith*. — *utique*: *i.e. et uti*.

8. *defexit*: old form in antique

documents; cf. *adclarassis*, 18. 9. — *publico*: to exclude the case of unauthorized individual action which in lawless times often took place. — *Diespiter*: another name for Jove: cf. *Zeus πατήρ*, and *Dyauspita*; so *dies* is from the same root. — *porcum*: the regular antique sacrifice both for expiatory and oath sacrifices.

9. *silice*: a survival of the stone age in religion, as the bronze age survived long after the general use of steel. There may be a symbolism in the stone referring to Jupiter himself, from the same confounding of meteoric stones with lightning, from which comes the idea of the thunderbolt. Cf. *Iovem lapidem iurare*. — *sua*: Livy conceives the Albans also as having their own peculiar ritual, though probably the usages he recounts were general Italic ones.

- 25 Foedere icto trigemini sicut convenerat arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quidquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suoapte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus in medium  
 2 inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur.
- 3 Datur signum infestisque armis, velut acies, terni iuvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea  
 4 deinde patriae fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Vt primo

## THE COMBAT.

25. sui: see Gr. 301. b. — deos patrios, etc.: the words used by the encouraging partisans. Translate, *Each accompanied by the exhortations of their countrymen, who said that*, etc. — illorum: representing the emphatic *vestra* in the direct. — et . . . et: the two ideas are the natural spirit of the young men and the enthusiasm superinduced by the adjurations of their friends. — pleni, etc., *filled with enthusiasm from*, etc.

2. consederant, *were stationed*; see Gr. 476 and N. — curae, *anxiety* (for the future), as opposed to the present immediate danger. — imperium, *supremacy*. — agebatur, etc., *was staked upon*. — erecti suspensique: cf. Cic. *Brutus*, 200.

3. infestis armis, *in hostile array*. The words had originally a definite literal meaning which was merged in the more general one. — velut acies: *i.e.* their attitude and

bearing was like that of two trained hosts in battle array, in which the tactics are uniform, as, for instance, in a line of bayonets at charge or of levelled lances. — terni: *i.e.* three on each side. — animos: expressing their 'courageous spirit as the preceding expresses their outward appearance. — publicum, *of their nation*; opposed to suum, and by the antithesis supplying the want of a connective. — obversatur, etc.: it was such moral effects as this that especially interested Livy in his history, and, indeed, the Romans of all times. — futura, etc., *and the thought that such would be*, etc. This compression of an idea into a noun with a participle is characteristic of Latin; see Gr. 497 and 499, footnote. The fondness for such expressions increases much in imperial times. — fecissent: *substitutive of indirect discourse* for future perfect. See Gr. 334.

statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsero  
gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit, et neutro  
inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde  
manibus, cum iam non motus tantum corporum agita-  
tioque anceps telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque  
et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium  
alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt.  
Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus  
exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum  
tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres  
Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut uni-  
versis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox.  
Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita  
ratus secuturos ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus  
sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco ubi pugna-  
tum est aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis inter-  
vallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In  
eum magno impetu rediit, et dum Albanus exercitus

4. *increpuere*: Livy probably fancies them as first hurling their javelins, which rang on the shields (*increpuere*), and then drawing their swords for a hand-to-hand (*consertis manibus*) individual conflict. — *neutro*, etc.: *i.e.* the suspense on account of the evenly matched contest was such that they were breathless, and neither party could cheer.

5. *anceps*: *i.e.* on each side. — *telorum*: the swords in attack; *armorum*: the shields in parrying. — *vulnera*, etc.: *i.e.* they could see the strokes take effect. — *duo Romani*, etc.: the real main clause is given in 6; but Livy stops in his account of the situation to tell the event of the duels, and resumes the account with a *cum* clause (*ad quorum casum*), and

gives the climax in *exanimes*, etc.

6. *spes ... cura*: *i.e.* they no longer had any hope of the result, but still had an anxious interest in the fate of their surviving champion. — *vice unius*: *i.e.* in imagination they took his place, and had the feelings which he might have. — *circumsteterant*: cf. *consederant*, 2, above.

7. *universis, all at once*. — *ut ... sic*: in the very common meaning, *although (while) ... yet*. — *ferox*, *confident of victory*. — *ita*, *with such speed*; explained by the following *ut*. — *corpus, strength*. — *sineret*: the subjunctive, on account of the indirect discourse.

8. *videt*: the indicative with *cum inversum*; see Gr. 546. a. — *intervallis*: *i.e.* each from the others. — *sequentes ... abesse*: a com-

inclamat Curiatiis uti opem ferant fratres, iam Horatius, caeso hoste victor, secundam pugnam petebat.

Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adiuvant militem suum et ille defungi proelio  
 10 festinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat,  
 11 consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Iamque aequato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter, fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus victusque  
 12 fratrum ante se strage, victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exsultans 'Duos' inquit 'fratrum manibus dedi; tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.' Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit, iacentem spoliatur.

mon and natural change of construction.

9. *ex insperato*: a very common form of adverbial phrase; cf. *ex consulo*, *ex aequo*, *ex improviso*. — *faventium*: the regular word for partisan spectators, as at a race or play of any kind. — *defungi*, to finish; properly, to have it over and be done with it. Cf. *defunctus* (sc. *vita*).

10. *nec procul*: an old expression, like *necopinatus*, *neglego*; cf. the English, 'was not very far away either.' — *alterum*, the second, as often.

11. *singuli*, one on each side. — *alterum*: accusative, as is seen by the emphasis of position, opposed to *alter* below. — *intactum ferro corpus*: this phrase (cf. *futura ea*, etc., 3) is seen to express one idea by the fact that it must be the subject of the sentence, inasmuch as *alterum* is necessarily the object. Attention to such little indications

will always give a ready clue to Livy's meaning, and save the beginner from being confused by the picturesque order of Livy's words. — *dabat*, made. The imperfect is used to describe the situation as it appeared to the eyes of the spectators, and agrees with the literal meaning of the word, 'was presenting.' — *cursu*, running, in pursuit of the flying Roman. — *victus*, demoralized, already conquered in anticipation; opposed to *victori*. — *obicitur*, is pitted against.

12. *fratrum manibus*: i.e. as a sacrifice; a very common idea in ancient times, from which came the early human sacrifices and the whole system of gladiatorial shows. — *causae . . . dabo*, I will slay for the object of. The expression is an echo of the preceding *manibus dedi*. — *male*, hardly, with difficulty. — *iugulo*: poetic use of the ablative without *in*. — *iacentem*, his body as he lay.

Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt <sup>13</sup> eo maiore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. Sepulcra exstant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo <sup>14</sup> Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettio, ex <sup>26</sup> foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus uti iuventutem in armis habeat; usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat trigemina spolia prae se gerens. <sup>2</sup> Cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit, cognitoque super umeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet feroci iuveni animum comploratio sororis <sup>3</sup> in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam. 'Abi <sup>4</sup> hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum,' inquit 'oblita

13. *eo . . . quo*: both abl. of degree of difference. A comparative in both branches is the usual form, but in post-Ciceronian Latin this exactness is more and more neglected. — *imperio aucti*, having gained the supremacy; cf. *filio auctus*. — *dicionis*: predicate genitive; see Gr. 343. b.

14. *exstant*: i.e. the supposed graves were still shown in Livy's time on the Appian Way, a short distance from the city in the *campus sacer Horatiorum*. — *versus*: i.e. nearer than the others to Rome, toward which the Roman is supposed to have fled. — *distantia*, etc.: i.e. each was buried on the spot where he fell.

THE KILLING OF HORATIA, AND THE TRIAL OF HORATIUS.

26. *ita, thereupon*, with that command.

2. *princeps, in advance*; i.e. of the Roman army, the Alban being passed over in silence. — *soror virgo, maiden sister*. — *paludamento*: usually of the general's mantle, but doubtless here used on account of the theatrical conception of the scene. — *solvit crines*: as a sign of mourning.

3. *movet*, etc.: the order is rhetorical to enforce the important facts: first, the sudden anger (*movet*); second, the explanation of the violence from his natural disposition and youth (*feroci iuveni*);

fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem.'

- 5 Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstat. Tamen raptus in ius ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratiue ad vulgus iudicii ac secundum iudicium supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, 'Duumviros,' inquit 'qui Horatio perduellionem iudicent secundum legem, facio.'
- 6 Lex horrendi carminis erat: 'Duumviri perduellionem iudicent. Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato. Si vincent, caput obnubito, infelici arbori reste suspendito, verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium.' Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere

then the exciting cause (*comploratio*); then the circumstances that made such mourning unseemly. The details are still more brought out by antithesis of the various members.

4. *sic eat*, etc.: cf. 7. 2.

5. *patribus plebique*: *i.e.* all of every rank and station; a standing expression in later times. — *obstat*, *palliated*; stood in the way of its having its full effect. — *tamen*: *i.e.* notwithstanding the palliation. — *ad regem*: naturally, as the supreme judge. — *ne ipse*, etc.: *i.e.* to avoid the unpopular action which would be necessary. — *auctor*, *responsible for*. — *concilio*: to announce his decision. — *duumviros*, *a council of two*; the regular way of expressing all boards and commissions in Latin. — *Horatio* (*dativus commodi*): as appears by the formula with *tibi* in 7, the officers were to establish formally the obvious guilt of the accused. — *perduellionem*, *treason against the state*, apparently because it was a usurpation of judicial powers to take the law

into one's own hands. — *secundum legem*: *i.e.* the law which follows (*duumviri*, etc.). The officers seem not to have been in the nature of a jury before whom the case might be pleaded, but rather of an inquisition to inquire into the case as *manifestum*, and put in action the avenging machinery of the law.

6. *carminis*, *purport*; cf. *carmine*, 24. 7 n. — *iudicent*: cf. last two notes. — *provocarit*: it is assumed that he is guilty, and not until the appeal to the people is there properly any trial in our sense; in fact, even on the appeal, the officers are the parties opposed to him (cf. *vincent*). — *obnubito*: *i.e.* the magistrate through the lictor. Such changes of subject are characteristic of old laws, etc. — *infelici*: as sacred to the gods below. — *arbori*: an old locative form, as in names of towns. — *suspendito*: not 'hang' in our sense, but attach to the cross, after which the scourging took place. — *vel intra*, etc.: *i.e.* not on the *pomerium*, which was sacred ground.

non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex his 'Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico' inquit. 'Lictor, conliga manus.' Accesserat lictor iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius 8 auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, 'Provoco' inquit. Ita de provocatione certatum ad populum est.

Moti homines sunt in eo iudicio, maxime Publio 9 Horatio patre proclamante se filiam iure caesam iudicare; ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. Inter haec senex iuvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatorum 10 fixa eo loco qui nunc pila Horatia appellatur ostentans, 'Huncine' aiebat, 'quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis, quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre

7. non rebantur: cf. note to *Horatio* above.

8. iniciebat, began to, etc.; see Gr. 471. c. — auctore, by the advice of. — clemente, etc.: this remark seems to be added merely as an explanation of the advice or approval, inasmuch as the law expressly provided for the appeal. The accused might, however, be supposed to be ignorant of the privilege, or afraid to take advantage of it. — de provocatione: i.e. whether it was justifiable or not; in other words, whether the condemned was really guilty or not (cf. note to *Horatio* above). The magistrate acts summarily *ex parte*, and only in case of appeal is the case tried. — ad populum = *apud populum*, the more usual form.

9. moti, etc.: the emphasis may be rendered by a great effect was produced, etc., more than anything else

by, etc. — ni ita esset, if that were not the case. For tense see Gr. 517. a. — patrio iure: the *pater familias* had the right of life and death over all who were *in potestate sua*. — orabat deinde: as if it were, then (changing his tone) he began to entreat.

10. eo loco: a spot in the Forum. — pila: apparently a trophy. — huncine: see Gr. 146. a. N. 1. — decoratum: explaining his pointing to the *spolia*, which Horatius had just now worn. — eum: a repetition of *huncine*. — sub furca: used inexactly for rhetorical effect, and referring to the usual punishment of slaves. The instrument consisted of two sticks coming to a sharp angle, bound over the neck of the culprit, to which his arms were bound. — videre: i.e. bear to see. — quod . . . spectaculum: see Gr. 307. c.

- 11 possent? I, lictor, conliga manus quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt; i, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius, arbori infelici suspende, verbera vel intra pomerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatorum. Quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent?'
- 12 Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet; Sororium tigillum
- 14 vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

11. *armatae*: to enhance the contrast with the hands bound to the stake. — *modo, only*; *i.e.* you may do it if you only do it amid these symbols of his prowess. — *pila*: the place referred to in 10, above.

12. *non tulit, could not bear*. — *nec . . . nec*: for this use of two negatives subordinate to a preceding general negation, see Gr. 327. 2. — *parem*: *i.e.* the same in this peril from his own citizens as it had been in the fight. — *animum*: *i.e.* the spirit he displayed in his bearing, etc. — *iure, the justice*; in Latin less abstract, — the rights or claims which his cause possessed. — *tamen, still*; *i.e.* notwithstanding the failure of just vengeance in his case. —

*lueretur*: there was a stain of guilt, upon the state which had not been cleansed by any punishment of the murder. This was to be removed by an expiatory sacrifice, performed by the father, but at the public expense.

13. *genti*: such private rites were not uncommon at Rome, obligatory upon a family or clan. — *capite*, etc.: this was a symbolical sacrifice of the young man to the gods below; cf. the usage with conquered armies. — *hodie*, etc.: some beam across a short street near the *vicus Cyprius*, in the IVth Region of the city, was pointed out in Livy's time, either rightly or wrongly, as the venerable relic.

14. *loco*: without *in*, as is very common in Livy.

Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod 27  
tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum  
ingenium dictatoris corrumpit et, quoniam recta consilia  
haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium  
animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in 2  
pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus  
quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex  
edicto gerundum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem  
societatis prodicionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Ro- 3  
mana, Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis, pacto transi-  
tionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur.

Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus, Mettius exer- 4  
cituque eius ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit. Vbi  
Anienem transiit, ad confluentis collocat castra. Inter  
eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim  
transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenere dextrum 5  
cornu, in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt.  
Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit suos, Albaños

#### WAR WITH ALBA AND FIDENAE.

27. *nec, yet... not*, as often. — *invidia vulgi*, the odium among, etc., changing the point of view, as is often necessary in translating. — *publica*, of the whole state, opposed to *tribus militibus*. — *fuerit*: see Gr. 495. N. — *vanum*, ambitious; properly, foolish and fickle, having no solid principles. — *corrumpit*, perverted; i.e. having no principles, he was swerved from the right by the odium which was occasioned by his action. — *recta*: rather naively viewed from a Roman standpoint, as his patriotic attempts to retrieve himself are spoken of as prava. — *popularium*, of his countrymen; those belonging to the same *populus*; but the idea of *vulgi* also seems to be present to Livy's mind.

2. *suae*: emphatic, as opposed to the allies that he sought. — *animorum*, hate, or will; i.e. their feeling would be strong enough for treacherous action, but their strength insufficient for open war. — *ad bellum*, etc.: i.e. a regular war, formally proclaimed (*edicto*). — *per speciem*, under the pretence; as often, *per* is used to make an adverbial phrase.

4. *cum . . . ubi*: one would expect these particles with their moods to change places; but in Livy's time the Romans had become careless in the use of the two constructions. — *confluentis*: i.e. of the Tiber and the Anio.

5. *et in acie*: i.e. as they had come from that quarter, so also they took their places on that wing. — *derigit*: more approved form in-

contra legionem Fidenatium conlocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire  
 6 aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium  
 7 erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato equo nuntiat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida  
 8 duodecim vocat Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in proelium iubet; nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant. Idem imperat ut hastas equites erige-  
 9 rent. Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit; qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant.

stead of *dirigit*. — *transire*, go over, to the enemy. — *succedit*, retires; properly, draws up as the ground rises.

6. *subisse*: i.e. had gone up far enough towards the mountains at the head of his troops as they were in marching order. — *erigit*: i.e. brings up to his level, and sets in battle array in that position. — *fluctuans*: i.e. as yet undecided, but waiting for developments; cf. next sentence. — *qua*, on whichever side. — *rem daret*: i.e. should give the victory.

7. *miraculo . . . esse*: historical infinitive. — in *re trepida*, in this critical situation; i.e. on account of it. — *Salios*, Salian priests; a second college (see 20. 4) called *Quirinales*. They are apparently dedicated to the two abstract divin-

ities, but these are closely connected with Mars, as well as with *Picus* and *Faunus* (Pan, Silvanus). The early cults had become extremely obscure, even to the Romans themselves, by Livy's time. The two were worshipped as causing the corresponding effects among the enemy.

8. *equitem*: the horseman in 7. — *increpans*: as if for having given a false alarm. — *suo iussu*: i.e. pretending that the whole was a manoeuvre of his own. — *idem*, at the same time, as often. — *hastas*, etc.: to conceal the action as much as possible.

9. *qui viderant*: i.e. those who were not prevented from seeing by Tullus' stratagem. — *ab rege*: i.e. said by him. — *id quod . . . rati*, thinking it was as, etc.

ror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clara voce  
 m et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi  
 anis essent, Latine sciebant. Itaque, ne subito ex  
 us decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido,  
 . vertunt. Instat Tullus fusoque Fidenatium cornu  
 eientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit.  
 illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa fuga flumen ob-  
 m ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit,  
 rma foede iactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii,  
 cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consi-  
 oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior

im Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deduc- 28  
 n campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratula-  
 contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur; quod  
 vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere  
 ; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Vbi 2  
 it, paratis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem  
 nque exercitum iubet. Praecones, ab extremo orsi,  
 os excivere Albanos. Ii novitate etiam rei moti, ut

isit: *i.e.* the alarm at first  
 d by the defection passed  
 o the enemy.—**audiverant**:  
*audirent* in 8.—**additi**: *i.e.*  
 ad been made a Roman col-  
 nd so, of course, had Romans  
 ished among them.—**scie-**  
 see Gr. 317. d.

**decursu**: in accordance with  
 pretended manoeuvre.—**in-**  
*i.e.* he changes his point of  
 , and goes first against the  
 ing instead of the right, as he  
 rrange; cf. **redit**.—**alieno**:  
 f the Fidenates.—**illi**: the  
 tes.—**ab effusa fuga**: *i.e.*  
 ould not flee far and wide so  
 scape, on account of the river.  
**quo**: *i.e.* to the river.

#### THE PUNISHMENT OF METTIUS.

**28. spectator**: *i.e.* they had  
 stood by only as spectators on the  
 hillside.—**quod bene vertat**: *i.e.*  
 with the usual prayer which accom-  
 panied any official act. Cf. 17. 10.  
 —**lustrale**: to purify the assembled  
 armies.

2. **contionem**: the usual gather-  
 ing for hearing an address of the  
 chief magistrate or commander.—  
**ab extremo**: *i.e.* of the camp, far-  
 thest from headquarters, where the  
 Albans when united with the Ro-  
 mans (cf. 1) were conceived as  
 placed.—**novitate**: *i.e.* they were  
 unaccustomed to Roman usages, and  
 hence the *contio* was a novelty to

regem Romanum contionantem audirent, proximi con-  
 3 stitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana  
 legio; centurionibus datum negotium erat ut sine mora  
 imperia exsequerentur.

4 Tum ita Tullus inquit: 'Romani, si umquam ante alias  
 ullo in bello fuit quod primum dis immortalibus gratias  
 ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id  
 proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum  
 hostibus quam, quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior  
 5 est, cum proditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos  
 falsa opinio teneat, iniussu meo Albani subiere ad montes,  
 nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simu-  
 latio fuit, ut nec vobis ignorantibus deseri vos avertere-  
 tur a certamine animus, et hostibus circumveniri se ab  
 6 tergo ratis terror ac fuga iniceretur. Nec ea culpa,  
 quam arguo, omnium Albanorum est: ducem secuti  
 sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluis-  
 sem, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius,  
 Mettius idem huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis

them. — **proximi**: *i.e.* towards the centre of the circle, so that the manœuvre next described was easy.

3. **centurionibus**, etc.: explanatory of the suddenness of the proceeding.

4. **fuit quod**, you had reason to; literally, there was anything for which; **quod** was originally a cognate accusative; cf. *est quod gaudeas*, and Gr. 390. d. — **ipsorum**: see Gr. 302. e. — **id proelium fuit**, it was in that battle; literally, it (referring to quod above) was that battle. — **dimicatio**: the full construction would be, *dimicatum est dimicatione*, etc., *quae dimicatio*, etc.; cf. Gr. 307. e.

5. **ne . . . teneat**: depending on the idea of saying not expressed; see Gr. 532. — **consilium**, etc.:

*i.e.* a pretence purposely made.

— **nec . . . et**: the usual correlatives where one branch is negative; the connective part in **nec** may be represented by *at the same time* in the second branch. — **ignorantibus**: the force of **nec** does not, of course, extend to this part of the clause.

6. **nec, and yet . . . not**, as often.

— **ea culpa quam**, etc.: *i.e.* the fault in the charge which I make. — **et, too**, as often. — **inde**: *i.e.* from the place where you were. — **agmen declinare**, to turn your line of march.

— **ille**: *i.e.* the one indefinitely referred to in **ducem**. — **ruptor**: do not mistake the position of this word as emphatic. The thought is, they have not acted without a leader; that leader is Mettius, the same Mettius who was this war's

ani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius,  
 nunc hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dedero.  
 Centuriones armati Mettium circumstant. Rex  
 a, ut orsus erat, peragit: 'Quod bonum faustum  
 que sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani,  
 hunc omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo  
 civitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere, unam  
 rem, unam rem publicam facere. Vt ex uno quondam  
 multis populos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum  
 est.' Ad haec Albana pubes inermis ab armatis  
 a, in variis voluntatibus communi tamen metu co-  
 e, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus 'Metti Fufeti,'  
 t 'si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare,  
 tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset; nunc, quo-  
 tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio  
 humanum genus ea sancta credere, quae a te vio-

er (to whom we owe this  
 Mettius the breaker of the  
 treaty between Rome and  
 —*audeat*: not merely *will*  
 but, *let some other dare*; *i.e.*  
 do not take the proper meas-  
 to maintain discipline, I have  
 son to object in case some  
 obeys'; but at the same time  
 mark is almost an imprecac-  
 —*iam*, soon; cf. note on  
 —*insigne documentum*:  
 signal example, a conspicuous  
 g. There is a confusion of  
 at here. By inflicting a pun-  
 at (which is not said) upon  
 s (in *hunc*), a warning  
 e given (which is what is

*circumstant*: *i.e.* at this point  
 me forward and take him pris-  
 —*quod bonum*, etc.: cf. 1.  
*em*: local; *rem publicam*:  
 d. — *ex uno*: in allusion to  
 onization of Rome from Alba.

8. *inermis*: notice the usual  
 stroke-by-stroke picture, all the  
 strokes being mutually explana-  
 tory. — *variis*, etc.: *i.e.* some ap-  
 proved and some did not, but all  
 were alike afraid.

9. *posses*: for tense, see Gr.  
 517. a. — *vivo*: emphatic; *i.e.* in-  
 stead of killing, I should have kept  
 you alive and taught you. — *ea*  
*disciplina*: *i.e.* a course of instruc-  
 tion in that branch; if he could  
 learn, Tullus would have tried to  
 teach him. — *nunc*, but now, as the  
 case is. — *tuum*: emphatic, as op-  
 posed to the *humanum genus*. —  
*insanabile*, past all cure; refer-  
 ring to *discere*, above. — *at*: the  
 antithesis is, *though* you can't be  
 cured yourself, yet you can be of  
 use as an example to the rest of the  
 world. — *tu*, *tuo*: continuing the  
 emphasis on *tuum*, above. — *ea*:  
*i.e.* the rights of treaties and the  
 like. — *sancta*: and therefore in

lata sunt. Vt igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim distrahendum dabis.'

10 Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis, in currus earum distentum inligat Mettium, deinde in diversum iter equi concitati lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectacula oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

29 Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisque ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet, 3 sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos ut prae metu obliti quid relinquerent, quid

violable. — *ancipitem*, *divided*. — *passim*, *in different directions*; corresponding to *ancipitem*.

10. *quadrigis*, *four-horse teams*, including chariot and horses.

11. *foeditate*: the Latin likes to concentrate the quality, which might be expressed by an adjective, into an abstract, thus making it the main thing, as here. — *exempli*, *of a kind*, or *character*. — *parum memoris*, *regardless*. — *humanarum*, *of humanity*; here as opposed to *ferus* or *immanis* (*savage* or *brutal*). — *in aliis*, *in other cases*. — *nulli*, etc.: as regards their own citizens, this was undoubtedly true, though at bottom their humanity was not superior to their neighbors'.

#### THE DEPORTATION OF THE ALBANS.

29. *legiones*, etc.: no long time is conceived as elapsing between the departure of the two divisions, as the legions found the citizens still in the city. Cf. 4.

2. *quidem*: notice the concessive particle opposed to *sed* in 3, below. The usual horrors of a sack were wanting, but a scene was presented not less pathetic.

3. *defixit*, *paralyzed*; literally, *fastened* as to one spot. — *prae metu*, *for fear*; properly only of hindrance, and here used on account of the negative idea in *obliti* (prevented from remembering). — *relinquerent*: deliberative ques-

um ferrent, deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios,  
e in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas,  
num illud visuri, pervagarentur.

t vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, 4

fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis urbis  
ibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus  
t nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus  
que poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque,  
uibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes  
ent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat

Et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione inte- 5  
at lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebant.  
mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa  
ista praeterirent ac velut captos relinquerent deos.  
essis urbem Albanis Romanus passim publica priva- 6  
e omnia tecta adaequat solo unaque hora quadrin-  
orum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio  
uinis dedit; templis tamen deum — ita enim edic-  
ab rege fuerat — temperatum est.

oma interim crescit Albae ruinis: duplicatur civium 30  
erus, Caelius additur urbi mons et quo frequentius

is indirect; see Gr. 575. b. —  
ente, etc., at a loss what to  
their own sense failed them,  
o they wildly inquired of each  
— ultimum illud, this the  
me (take this last look). This  
uction illustrates the origin of  
dverbial accusative, as a kind  
gnate object of the verb of the  
e. Cf. Gr. 390. b, c, d. N. 2.  
vero: marking, as often, a de-  
moment in the narrative. —  
indicating, as usual, the prog-  
f events.

imis (with diruebantur):  
he operations of the legions  
ning at one end of the city  
heard by the inhabitants at

the other end. The warning of the  
cavalry precedes by a short time  
only the operations of the legions,  
which follow in the same direction,  
and their advance produces the cli-  
max described. — quibus: i.e. eis  
quae; see Gr. 306. a. — larem.  
etc.: with the same feeling with  
which we speak of hearth and home.

5. et, and now. — vocesque:  
i.e. and not only was there weep-  
ing, but they uttered cries also, as  
they passed the sacred temples.

6. urbem: see Gr. 388. b. —  
templis: see Gr. 381.

WAR WITH THE SABINES.

30. ruinis: abl. of means. —

- habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit ibique deinde  
 2 habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque  
 pars rei publicae cresceret, legit: Tullios, Servilios,  
 Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios, templumque  
 3 ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad  
 patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium  
 ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adiceretur, equi-  
 tum decem turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres  
 eodem supplemento explevit et novas scripsit.  
 4 Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit,  
 genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissi-  
 mae viris armisque. Vtrisque iniuriae factae ac res  
 5 nequiquam erant repetitae: Tullus ad Feroniae fanum  
 mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos  
 querebatur; Sabini suos prius in lucum confugisse ac  
 Romae retentos. Hae causae belli ferebantur.

habitaretur: see Gr. 531. *a.* —  
 eam: see Gr. 296. *a.* He went there  
 to make it a fashionable region.

2. Tullios, etc.: *i.e.* these are  
 families that were supposed later to  
 be of Alban descent and of patrician  
 rank. — templum: properly, a spot  
 consecrated by augury. Here equiv-  
 alent to an adjective, *a consecrated*.  
 — ordini: *i.e.* the senate. — Hos-  
 tilia: the Curia Hostilia was burned  
 in 52 B.C., and again rebuilt, destroyed  
 again by Caesar, and restored by Au-  
 gustus under the name Curia Julia.

3. omnium, etc.: *i.e.* the senate,  
 already provided for, the equites  
 (real knights, not merely a politi-  
 cal body), and the plebs, as repre-  
 sented in the legions. — turmas:  
 each of thirty men. — supple-  
 mento: the means of explevit;  
*i.e.* the reinforcements were taken  
 from the newly added citizens, and  
 new legions were enrolled from the  
 same source.

4. hac fiducia: *i.e.* with the con-  
 fidence produced by this (addition);  
 a common use of pronouns. —  
 virium: Gr. 348.

5. Tullus, etc.: the details of  
 the *iniuriae*. — Feroniae: a local  
 goddess, possessing several groves  
 and springs. This one, which was  
 in the *Ager Capenas*, near the foot  
 of Mt. Soracte, was a meeting-place  
 for several nations for purposes of  
 traffic. Another, three miles from  
 Tarracina, is mentioned by Horace  
 (*Sat.* I. 5. 24). — mercatu: abl. of  
 time. — frequenti: a greater out-  
 rage, because on an occasion of  
 peaceful commerce. — Sabini, etc.:  
*i.e.* the Sabines claimed that it was  
 only a reprisal for previous (*prius*)  
 acts on the Roman side. — lucum:  
 at Rome. The slaves had fled to a  
 sacred place from their masters, and  
 the Romans had not surrendered  
 them. — ferebantur, were put for-  
 ward as.

ini, haud parum memores et suarum virium par- 6  
Romae ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper  
adiectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere  
si externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi 7  
corum Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras  
ne sollicitatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios  
re, et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam  
as valuit; publico auxilio nullo adiuti sunt, valuitque  
Veientes — nam de ceteris minus mirum est —  
cum Romulo indutiarum fides.  
in bellum utrimque summa ope pararent vertique 8  
res videretur, utri prius arma inferrent, occupat  
s in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad 9  
in Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore,  
am equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies  
. Ab equitibus repente invectis turbati ordines 10  
Sabinorum, nec pugna deinde illis constare nec  
explicari sine magna caede potuit.

iarum, etc.: *i.e.* that their  
h was diminished, and that  
Romans increased. — *loca-*  
cf. 13. 4. — *et ipsi*: as well  
Romans.

ellorum: *i.e.* previous wars.  
sole phrase belongs with *sol-*  
s. — *defectionem*: there  
ly a truce, but Livy speaks  
they were subjects. — *volun-*  
their state of feeling was  
that persons were willing to  
er. — *vagos, roving per-*  
without landed property. —  
s: *i.e.* these were gained by  
e of pay. — *publico, given*  
state as such, as opposed to  
silibustering. — *valuit, was*  
l. — *valuit, held*; *i.e.* it re-  
the people of Veii, in spite  
hostile disposition. — *nam*:  
speak of the Veientes, for

the other Etruscans had no special  
reason for hatred, and so it is not  
surprising that they kept quiet. —  
cum Romulo, etc.: cf. 15. 5.

8. *verti in eo, turn on this*  
*point.* — *occupat . . . transire,*  
*hastens to get the start in passing*  
*over.*

9. *et peditum, etc.*: *i.e.* even in  
this branch he was superior, but it  
was especially with the cavalry that  
he gained the advantage. — *qui-*  
*dem*: opposed, as a concessive par-  
ticle, to *plurimum*. — *valuit*: cf. 7.  
Such repetition of a word in differ-  
ent phases of meaning is character-  
istic of Livy's careless style.

10. *pugna . . . constare, the*  
*battle-line be maintained.* — *fuga*  
(nom.) *explicari, be opened out in*  
*flight* (changing the construction  
in English).

- 31** Devictis Sabinis, cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluvisse. Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium in conspectu haud aliter quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cedere caelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae, velut diis quoque simul cum patria relictis, oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant deum.
- 4** Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum est, seu voce caelesti ex Albano monte missa — nam id quoque traditur — seu haruspicum monitu; mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque

ILL OMENS, AND SUCCEEDING  
DEATH OF TULLUS.

**31. devictis Sabinis**, etc.: the prosperity is purposely enlarged upon, to contrast it with the evil omens.

**2. cum credi**, etc.: explaining the sending of observers. — **missis**: dat. of reference; *i.e.* before the eyes of the observers. — **grandinem**: the rain of stones is compared to the hail driven by the wind and heaped up in large quantities; drifted, as it were, on the ground.

**3. luco**: the grove of Jupiter Latiaris. — **ut . . . facerent**: see Gr. 580. *d.* — **patrio**: *i.e.* that of the Albans as opposed to the Romans. — **velut diis**, etc.: abl. abs. with **velut**; a construction rare in Cicero, but more and more common later. The account is an illustration of the importance attached to keeping up local worship in ancient times. Worship of the same divinity under other forms was not the

same thing at all. — **ut fit**, as is often the case. Another curious glimpse into ancient religion. If the gods did not protect their worshippers, the worshippers in anger neglected them.

**4. Romanis**: this matter seemed to affect the whole state, and the Romans also endeavored to appease the offended divinities by rites performed officially in behalf of the state (**publice**). — **ab**, on account of; the development of this meaning is seen in *ab simili clade*, I. 4. — **novendiale sacrum**: *i.e.* a cessation of business for nine (eight) days, such as was afterwards called *feriae*. — **publice**: by the state, as not merely affecting individuals. — **seu . . . seu**: the two possibilities are, immediately from the voice, which properly affected only the Albans, and later from the advice of Etruscan soothsayers, who were consulted as a higher authority than the local seers. — **mansit**, etc.: *i.e.* whatever the

idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.

Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Vnde 5 cum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquo morbo est implicatus. Tunc adeo 6 fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgo iam homines, eum statum rerum 7 qui sub Numa rege fuerat requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata esset credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem 8 commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam occulta sollem-

reason was, the holiday was established and continued. — *quandoque*: as in early Latin for *quantumque*.

5. *laboratum est*, they suffered; literally, 'there was trouble.' This is the point to which the account thus far has been leading up, for this was the calamity to which the prodigies pointed. — *pigritia*: the condition of their health made them little disposed for the hardships of war. — *longinquo*, lingering; here of time.

6. *tunc adeo*, then at last; used like *tum vero* (29. 4 n.), as is seen by the emphasis on *fracti*. — *illi*: nom. — *feroces*, proud, as despising, from overweening confidence in himself, the warnings of the gods. — *qui ratus esset*, the man who, etc.; characteristic subj. — *obnoxius*, subject to. — *degeret*: sc. vitam. — *religionibus*: including the practical worship as well as the state of mind.

7. *requirentes*, missing. — *unam*, one only; i.e. on one condition only. They compared the religious devotion of Numa's reign, and its prosperity, with the present godlessness. — *si . . . esset*: a free rendering in indirect discourse of the thought of the people, i.e. *salus redibit, si pax . . . impetrata erit*. The apodosis implied in *opem* (see above) is future (cf. Gr. 516. d), and the protasis has the plup. subj. to represent the future perfect of the direct discourse.

8. *ipsum*: the rest of the people were in superstitious awe, but the king himself went to work to find a remedy. — *volventem*, studying, as of course they were conceived like other books, as a roll (*volumen*). — *commentarios*: see 20. 5, and cf. 32. 2. — *occulta*: evidently of a different character from the public services, and intended by a kind of magic to draw

nia sacrificia Iovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum iis sacris se abdidisse, sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam caelestium speciem, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

- 82 Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant; quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores.

Numae Pompili regis nepos filia ortus Ancus Marcius erat. Qui ut regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae memor et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat aut neglectis religionibus aut prave cultis, longeque antiquissimum ratus sacra publica ut a Numa instituta erant facere, omnia ea ex

from the gods the secrets of their worship, making them show what sacrifices would appease them; cf. 20. 7. — *sacrificia*: the word may be retained, though doubted by some, as forming one idea with *sollemnia*. — *operatum*, *engaged*; a technical word for religious proceedings; see Gr. 495. — *sacris*: dative; cf. *dare operam*. — *initum aut curatum*: *i.e.* some error occurred at the beginning or in the progress of the rite, which consequently did not have the desired effect, and no vision was vouchsafed him. — *speciem*, etc.: this shows that the rite was a sort of incantation to force the gods (like ghosts) to appear, — a curious phase of religion. — *ira*, on account of the wrath; cf. *fulmine*, below. — *sollicitati*: referring to the endeavor to call out the apparition. — *prava*: *i.e.* the rite being wrongly performed only irritated the god, without having

power to force him. — *fulmine*, by means of, etc. Notice the two ablatives in different relations with the same verb.

#### CHOICE OF ANCUS MARCIUS AND DECLARATION OF WAR WITH LATINS.

82. ut institutum, etc.: cf. 17. 1 and 5, and 22. 1. — *auctores*: cf. 17. 9.

2. memor et quia: notice the two different constructions with the same general meaning, a common usage in later Latin; cf. 15. 1 n. — *cetera*: adverbial acc.; Gr. 397 a. — *ab una parte*: cf. *a parte dextra*, *a sinistro cornu*. — *religionibus*, *rites of religion*. — *prave*, *wrongly*, in reference to forms; cf. *prava religione*, 31. 8. — *antiquissimum*, *most important*, better than anything else. — *commentariis*: see 31. 8 n. — *pontificem*: see 20. 5. — *album*: a whitewashed board, one of the earliest materials for

commentariis regis pontificem in album relata proponere in publico iubet.

Inde et civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus 3 erat, sustulerant animos et, cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati.

Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli 4 memor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam quod illi contigisset otium, sine iniuria id se haud facile habiturum: temptari patientiam et temporatam contemni, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam

inscriptions. — *relata*, set forth. — *proponere*, publish, by hanging them up so that all could read them (in publico), whereas before they had been the secret learning of the Pontifex. — *inde*: i.e. from this act of Ancus. — *otii cupidis*: explaining why they should be pleased with the hope. — *mores*, character; *instituta*, methods of government.

3. *foedus*: not mentioned by Livy. — *sustulerant*: the pluperfect only represents that they had come to this state of mind before the time of *reddunt*. This use of the tense is very common, to avoid the monotony of a catalogue of events in the perfect, with imperfects for description. A new point of departure is taken, and the intervening time is suggested by the pluperfect; cf. *consulutaverat*, 7. 1 n. — *superbe*: i.e. arrogantly refusing satisfaction. — *desidem*: not a mere attributive, but a pred-

icative adj., taking the place of an adverbial phrase.

4. *medium*: i.e. but the Roman king was not what the Latins thought him: though not a Romulus, he was by no means a Numa. — *memor*, reminding one of. — *novo*: i.e. unused to the restraints of law as yet. — *etiam*: sc. *credebat*; the two reasons given are, first, the undesirableness of peace in his time compared with the reign of Numa; and second, the impossibility of having it in his own case without suffering outrage from without. — *quod*: relative. — *temptari patientiam*: i.e. that the neighboring peoples had been trying the Romans' patience, seeing how much they would stand, and finding they would bear much, they regarded this long-suffering with contempt; an explanation of *haud . . . habiturum*. — *temporaque*, and any way, etc.; a generalizing of the particulars preceding. — *Tullo*, a *Tullus*.

- 5 Numae. Vt tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae proderentur, nec gererentur solum, sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, ius ab antiqua gente Aequiculis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur.
- 6 Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo — lanae velamen est — ‘Audi, Iuppiter’ inquit, ‘audite, fines’ — cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat — ‘audiat fas! Ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani, iuste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis
- 7 fides sit.’ Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Iovem testem facit: ‘Si ego iniuste impieque illos homines illasque

5. **tamen**: *i.e.* notwithstanding the warlike tendency of the age, yet not to be entirely neglectful of religion, he instituted a ritual of war. — **religiones**, *rites*. — **nec . . . solum**: *i.e.* war should not be merely fought, but have a definite form of beginning. — **Aequiculis**: a branch of the Aequi. — **fetiales**: these they had had before (see 24. 4), but Ancus perfects the ceremonies. Like all ancient institutions, these are variously attributed by different writers.

6. **legatus**: properly a person appointed for the business, here for the *fetialis*, as a representative of the *populus Romanus*. — **fines**: as the home of the adverse people. — **unde**: see Gr. 308. g. — **res repetuntur**, *satisfaction is demanded*. — **filo**: apparently a band only on the cap. — **lanae**: the use of wool as well as that of the olive branch (doubtless Greek and Latin) symbolizes peaceful pursuits, pastoral, or later agricultural. — **velamen**: not different from **filo**. — **Iuppiter**: the gods are called upon (cf. 10) to witness to the justice of the demand, and thus the war is placed under their guidance. —

**cuiuscumque**, etc.: *i.e.* he adds *Latini* or *Latinorum*, for instance, to fill out the blank here left. — **fas**: divine justice personified. — **iuste**: in accordance with recognized precedent; **pie**: with due reverence to the gods. The whole expression indicates that all the proceedings are regular. — **legatus**: in its proper original sense. — **fides**: *i.e.* that he rightly represents his nation, who sent him, and is not an unauthorized person.

7. **peragit**, etc.: this has already been done in the *rerum repetitio*, but is now formally done again, as it were, to give a last chance to the enemy to comply, and formally to record the cause of war. The whole proceeding is called *clarigatio*, apparently the making plain the cause, so that there should be no room for question afterwards. — **iniuste impieque**: apparently referring to his authority, as *iuste pieque*, above. — **homines**: the individuals charged with wrong-doing. According to ancient notions, if these were given up, the state was not responsible; otherwise the state made their action its own. — **res**: usually the cause of war was some predatory in-

res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me numquam siris esse.' Haec cum fines suprascandit, haec 8 quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis peragit. Si non 9 deduntur quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta — tot enim sollemnes sunt — peractis bellum ita indicit: 'Audi, 10 Iuppiter, et tu, Iuno, Quirine, diique omnes caelestes, vosque terrestres vosque inferni audite! Ego vos testor populum' — illum quicumque est nominat — 'iniustum esse neque ius persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria maiores natu consulemus quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur.' Cum iis nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex his ferme verbis patres consulebat: 'Qua- 11 rum rerum litium causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Lati-

cursion. Later, any form of satisfaction was expressed by *res*. — **dedier**: archaic use of the infinitive after verbs of asking. — **compotem**: a false swearer would be excommunicated, as it were, and cease to be a citizen. — **siris**: archaic shorter form for *siveris*. The perfect subj. is very common in such phrases, especially with negatives.

8. **quicumque**: *sc. apud eum*. — **carminis**: cf. 26. 6 n. — **concupiendi**: an antique use of the gerundive, apparently retaining something of its simple present passive participle sense, as in *iurandi* following. It refers to the *set* form of oath, as in *conceptis verbis*.

9. **sollemnes**, regular, *i.e.* prescribed by the ritual. — **indicit**: this is the religious declaration of war, in accordance with a previous vote of the people; the real one is made by the senate, as in 12.

10. **ius persolvere**: *i.e.* perform its just obligations in making reparation. — **sed**: but I will not decide, I will consult at home. — **maiores natu**: *i.e.* the senate; originally a counsel of elders. — **pacto**, *manner*, as regularly in colloquial language. — **adipiscamur**: see Gr. 575. b. — **cum iis**, with these words.

11. **quarum**: *sc. de eis* with *ceses*. Cf. Gr. 307. — **rerum**, etc.: genitive after *condixit*, in an antiquated, uncertain construction, apparently analogous to the genitive of crime and penalty. — **rerum**: *i.e. quae repetuntur*; **litium**, *matters in dispute*; **causarum**: used, as in later times, of the subject of dispute more abstractly, just as we say 'the cause of the poor.' — **condixit**, *conferred*, but with the idea of a formal demand, as in the civil law the same word is used of the plaintiff. — **pater patratus**: cf.

norum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari solvi fieri oportuit, dic,' inquit ei quem primum sententiam  
 12 rogabat 'quid censes?' Tum ille 'Puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo itaque consensio consciscoque.' Inde ordine alii rogabantur quandoque pars maior eorum qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret et, non minus  
 13 tribus puberibus praesentibus, diceret 'Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit consensit conscivit ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque.' Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines

24. 4 n. — **dederunt**: *i.e.* the *res*; **solverunt**: the *lites*; **fecerunt**: the *causae*; though the words may possibly be used loosely in legal verbiage, as we hardly know the original meaning of *causa*. — **ei**: the leading man in the senate. — **sententiam**: see Gr. 396.

12. **puro pioque**: the two requirements of 'clean hands and a pure heart'; *i.e.* a war whose cause is just and whose methods are honest. — **duello**: old form of *bello*; cf. *bis*, from *duo*. — **quaerendas**: *sc.* the *res*, etc. — **consensio consciscoque**: probably with the previous vote of the people; cf. 13. The expression probably goes far back into antiquity, when the vote of the warriors was necessary at the outset. This Livy does not mention, perhaps because it would be too democratic

for his conception of a kingdom. — **in . . . ibat**: alluding to an actual *division* of the house, such as was practised in ancient times. — **ferratam**: an iron-headed spear would be a natural symbol of war. — **sanguineam**: with a *hasta pura*, the point would be hardened in the fire, as was often customary for warlike weapons, and stained with blood to complete the symbolism. — **puberibus**: as witnesses. The whole must be done in form, and capable of proof.

13. **quod**: the regular Latin *whereas*, but it is properly the object of the verbs. — **eam rem**: the antecedent of **quod**. — **populusque**: *i.e.* and through me the *populus Romanus*. — **facio**: by the hurling of the spear. — **dixisset**: subjunctive of repeated action; see Gr. 518. c.

eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res 14  
ac bellum indictum, moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

Ancus, demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdo- 33  
tibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto, profectus Poli-  
torium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit secutusque morem  
regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in  
civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam tra-  
duxit. Et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Roma- 2  
norum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem  
Albani implessent, Aventinum novae multitudini datum.  
Additi eodem haud ita multo post Tellenis Ficanaque  
captis novi cives.

Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum 3  
occupaverant Prisci Latini; eaque causa diruendae urbis  
eius fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum  
esset. Postremo omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, 4  
aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto varia victoria pugnatum  
est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque fir-  
mata valido erat et castris in aperto positis aliquotiens  
exercitus Latinus comminus cum Romanis signa contu-  
lerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis conisus Ancus acie 5  
primum vincit, inde ingenti praeda potens Romam redit,  
tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in civitatem ac-  
ceptis, quibus, ut iungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Mur-  
ciae datae sedes.

#### CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

33. demandata: cf. 20. 1. —  
Politorium, etc.: all these Latin  
towns disappeared very early.

2. circa: properly 'on both sides  
of,' but here as much as *besides*, be-  
cause the Palatium is excluded by  
the description from the later enu-  
meration.

4. Medulliam: cf. 38. 4. —  
Marte incerto varia victoria:

two phases of a single idea, change-  
able fortune of war showing itself  
in varying success. — tuta, *pro-  
tected*. — firmata, *manned*.

5. acie vincit: opposed to *urbem  
capit*, implied in *praeda*, etc. —  
*potens*, *enriched*; a poetic term.  
— tum quoque: as well as in the  
last campaign. — iungeretur: *i.e.*  
that the valley between might be  
settled continuously. — Murciae:

- 6 Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinorosa clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciae media urbe imminens foro aedificatur.
- 9 Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque: silva Mesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretrii amplificata.
- 34 Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni

see Gr. 343. N. 2. The region is that of the later Circus Maximus.

6. **Ianiculum**: being a considerable height directly opposite, it would be a natural stronghold of the Etruscans in case of war. — **ea**: see Gr. 296. *a*. — **ponte sublicio**: a wooden bridge over the Tiber, probably in the place afterwards occupied by the *Pons Aemilius*. Some remains of it are still shown.

7. **fossa**: a ditch and rampart along the ground between the Caelian and Aventine. It is possible that Livy confounds it with the defence of the same name at Ostia.

8. **discrimine**, etc.: *i.e.* the distinction between right and wrong. — **recte an perperam**, etc.: a curious mixture of noun and verb, brought about by compression of a proleptic construction, *discrimen facti, utrum recte an perperam factum esset*. —

**carcer**: the building, the *Tullianum*, still standing over the forum, originally apparently built over a spring, but afterwards used as a prison. — **audaciae**, *lawlessness*, reckless breaking of laws.

9. **hoc rege**: may be regarded as either abl. of time or abl. absolute, both being locative in their origin, and so really the same thing. — **ager finesque**: only one idea, *limits of the territory*. — **silva Mesia**: on the opposite side of the river, and commanding the lower part of it, being higher than the Roman side. — **circa**: *i.e.* in the neighborhood of Ostia. — **Iovis Feretrii**: see 10. 6.

THE COMING OF THE TARQUINS.

34. **cupidine**, *ambition*; the word belongs, as well as **spe**, with **honoris**.

honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis — nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat — facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo <sup>2</sup> profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres; Arruns prior quam pater moritur, uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; <sup>3</sup> qui cum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero, post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato, ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra omnium heredi bonorum cum <sup>4</sup> divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata et quae haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem, exsule advena ortum, <sup>5</sup> ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis dummodo virum honoratum videret,

2. *ob seditiones*: at every change of government accomplished or attempted in the Greek cities, there were always more or less persons exiled. — *heres*: in predicative apposition. — *relicta*: the ablative absolute becomes so purely an adverbial expression, that the idea of past time in the perfect participle often entirely disappears.

3. *Egerio*: as if from *egeo*.

4. *iam*: *i.e.* without the additional stimulus of a high-born wife. — *animos, pride*: a common meaning for the plural. — *auxit, had this increased by*, etc., changing the construction. — *ducta . . . Tanaquil*: Introd. 9. c. — *Tanaquil*: apparently not a proper name in Etruscan, but a title like Lucumo; a fact which agrees with the legendary character of the whole story. —

*et quae*: *i.e.* not only did the fact of the marriage act upon the mind of Lucumo, but the ambition of the woman herself was calculated to excite him. — *sineret*: characteristic subjunctive, not in its fully developed use, but nearer to the origin of the construction in apodosis; cf. Gr. 534. — *quo, into which*; see Gr. 308. g. — *innupsisset*: partaking of the character of *sineret*, and hence agreeing with it in mood (Gr. 593); cf. *nata erat*, which does not partake of this character.

5. *spernentibus*: *i.e.* refusing social recognition as one of the ruling caste. — *exsule advena*: see Gr. 321. c, and cf. *pastor accola*, 7. 5. — *potuit*: *i.e.* Tanaquil; we should expect an *illa* or *haec*, but it is carelessly omitted. — *videret*:

- 6 consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre  
 7 ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset.
- 8 Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter alis pilleum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti apte reponit,

see Gr. 528. — ab Tarquiniis: see Gr. 428. *a*.

6. **potissimum**, *the best place*; cf. Gr. 289. *c*. — **repentina**, *new*; *i.e.* suddenly arisen. — **ex virtute**, *dependent on worth*. — **futurum**: inf. depending on the word of saying (thinking) implied in **visa est**; see Gr. 580. *a*. — **regnasse**: emphasized as referring back to **locum**, showing what chances there were for foreigners. — **Ancum**: *i.e.* even he was almost a foreigner, and hardly more than a 'new man' in the sense of later times. — **matre**: the unnamed daughter of Numa; cf. 32. 1. — **nobilem**: here used in the later sense, of a person whose ancestors had held a curule office. Such a person had the *ius imaginum*, the right to put up the likeness of the ancestor in his *atrium*. — **una**: the number of such likenesses was an important factor in determining social and political prestige. — **Numae**, *that of Numa*.

7. **cupido . . . cui esset**: notice the parallelism of the phrase and the clause, a good illustration of the

adjective nature of the characteristic subjunctive clause. — **materna**: *i.e.* and therefore he had no special love for that city. — **esset**: attracted by the predicate **patria**; see Gr. 316. *b*.

8. **Ianiculum**: coming from the Etruscan side to cross by the *pons sublicius* (see 33. 6). — **carpento**: a covered travelling wagon. Probably this is mentioned in the story to give greater probability to the supposed divine interposition. The ablative without *in*, as in poetry. — **suspensis**, etc.: *i.e.* not by a sudden swoop, as of a predatory bird, but deliberately as a divine messenger. The order is artificial. — **pilleum**: the felt *cap* often worn by travellers. It is sometimes confounded with the *petasus*, or felt hat, and may possibly be *so here*, as the latter was more commonly used by travellers. — **clangore**: probably of the noise of his wings, but possibly of screaming also. — **ministerio**: dative of purpose, belonging rather to the earlier language and poetry. Cf. Gr. 382. — **sublimis**: see Gr. 290.

sublimis abit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur 9  
 aquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigio-  
 mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum  
 t: eam alitem, ea regione caeli, et eius dei nuntiam  
 sse, circa summum culmen hominis auspiciu fe-  
 s, levasse humano superpositum capiti decus ut  
 titus eidem redderet.

as spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem in- 10  
 si sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquiniu  
 cum edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum 11  
 tas divitiaeque faciebant et ipse fortunam benigno  
 quio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque quos poterat  
 conciliando adiuwabatur, donec in regiam quoque de  
 ama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi apud re- 12

accepisse: the acceptance of  
 omen was, in ancient times, an  
 tant part of the process. Cf.  
 — **augurium**: in its general  
 of omen. — **Etrusci**: this na-  
 vas much given to divination,  
 ll the Roman forms of the art  
 supposed to have come from

In cases of doubt they were  
 ted as experts. — **excelsa**,  
 the emphatic position of these  
 represents a direct form like  
 sa' inquit 'spera,' complexa  
 t. — **complexa**: see note on  
 s 2.

**regione**: i.e. the favorable  
 — **eius dei**: i.e. of Jupiter. —  
 se: the clauses in the infiniti-  
 contain the grounds of hope.  
 preceding main clause would  
 ly be a result, *ut sperare*  
 correlative to the demonstra-  
 am, ea, eius, but the account  
 ents the colloquial form used  
 e woman herself. Of course  
 hole proceeding meant that  
 ould gain a crown for his head,  
 d of the cap.

10. **has, such**. — **domicilio**, etc.:  
 i.e. establishing themselves there,  
 not merely taking a house. — **L.**  
**Tarquiniu**: probably called *Lu-*  
**cius** because of the name (or, rather,  
 title) *Lucumo*. It is possible that  
 the word may have originally been  
 formed from *Lucumo*. The deriva-  
 tion of Roman proper names is very  
 obscure. The gentile name is doubt-  
 less formed from Tarquinii. — **Pri-**  
**scum**: this part of the name is cer-  
 tainly Latin, but its application is  
 uncertain.

11. **ipse**: opposed to the acci-  
 dental advantages just mentioned.  
 — **fortunam**: i.e. his rise in social  
 position. — **adloquio**, **comitate**,  
**beneficiis**: the means of **concili-**  
**ando**, which is itself the means of  
**adiuvabat**. — **comitate**, etc.: i.e.  
 by hospitably entertaining his new  
 acquaintances. — **adiuvabat**, *con-*  
*tinued to improve*. — **regiam**: i.e.  
 he made himself so conspicuous so-  
 cially, that the king heard of him  
 and made his acquaintance (**noti-**  
**tiam**).

gem liberaliter dextreque obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

- 35 Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando  
2 fierent. Quibus indictis sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis ani-  
3 mos compositam: cum se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum adfectet; et Tatium non ex peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et Numam ignarum urbis non petentem in

12. officia: *i.e.* loyal services as a courtier. — in . . . iura: *i.e.* he raised the mere acquaintance to an intimate friendship. — expertus: passive; cf. Gr. 190. *b*.

#### ELECTION AND REIGN OF TARQUIN.

35. iam, *by this time*. — eo magis: because one of them might claim the right to be elected, if they were of age. — regi: see Gr. 505. *b*. — fierent: of course through an interrex.

2. tempus: set for the comitia. — petisse ambitiose: to have canvassed (electioneered), as candidates in later times. The whole story, as it lies in Livy's mind, is derived from the later republic, when the commons were all-powerful. — orationem: in a contio, when candidates used to present their claims. — conciliandos: cf. *Aen.* VI. 816.

3. cum: *sc. memoraret*, which is forgotten in the long account of the discourse, and picked up again in another form in 6. The whole passage is put in to explain compositam. — rem novam: *i.e.* election to the throne as a stranger. — quisquam: the force of non continued through the whole occasions the use of quisquam rather than aliquis. The same idea excuses -ve also. — posset: potential present thrown back into past time. The rest of the discourse retains its time (see Gr. 585. *b*), but this one verb, on account of its being contrary to fact, goes into the imperfect. The close connection of the potential subjunctive and the characteristic construction is seen in this clause (cf. Gr. 534). The meaning is almost, 'So that anybody could feel indignant at it' (cf. quisquam and -ve). — igna-

regnum ultro accitum; se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, 4  
 Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse,  
 maiorem partem aetatis eius, qua civilibus officiis fun-  
 gantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere patria vixisse;  
 domi militiaeque sub haud paenitendo magistro, ipso 5  
 Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse;  
 obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benigni-  
 tate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse. Haec eum haud 6  
 falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus  
 regnare iussit.

Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo  
 habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est, nec minus regni  
 sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor centum  
 in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt ap-  
 pellati, factio haud dubia regis, cuius beneficio in curiam  
 venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit et oppi- 7  
 dum ibi Apiolas vi cepit, praedaque inde maiore quam

**rum**, a stranger to, etc. — **peten-**  
**tem**: *sc. regnum*. — **ultro acci-**  
**tum**, had been actually called in.  
 As Numa had not sought the throne,  
 it was more than could be expected  
 that he should have it.

4. **ex quo**: *sc. tempore*. — **sui**  
**potens**, his own master, freed from  
 a guardian.

5. **paenitendo**: the somewhat  
 rare personal use of *paenitet*. —  
**iura**: referring to politics; **ritus**:  
 referring to religion. — **didicisse**:  
 whereby he was qualified to be king;  
**obsequio**, etc.: wherefore he was a  
 worthy citizen. The whole is con-  
 ceived in the style of a later elec-  
 tioneering address.

6. **haec**: with a change of the  
 form of the sentence, as if *memor-*  
*aret* had already been used. —  
**populus**: with a confusion of ideas  
 between the *plebs* (2) and the proper  
*populus Romanus*, the official body

of burghers. — **iussit**: the techni-  
 cal term for a vote (cf. 22. 1). —  
**ergo**, accordingly, as he had been  
 elected by the lower orders. —  
**cetera**: see Gr. 397. a. — **ambitio**:  
 alluding to his popular measures in  
 favor of the lower orders. — **nec**  
**minus**, etc.: *i.e.* he had two mo-  
 tives, one to strengthen his party,  
 and the other to strengthen the  
 government by adding to its great  
 council. — **minorum**, etc.: this dis-  
 tinction between senators remained,  
 but it was only a nominal one, with  
 no difference of privileges. The most  
 various accounts are given of the  
 precise change made by Tarquin,  
 and apparently all authentic infor-  
 mation on the early constitution  
 had been lost long before Livy's  
 time. — **factio**, a party, in opposi-  
 tion to the older families in the  
 senate. — **haud dubia**, sure to  
 be.

- quanta belli fama fuerat revecta ludos opulenti-  
 8 structiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tunc primum  
 circo, qui nunc Maximus dicitur, designatus locus est.  
 Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi  
 9 quisque facerent, fori appellati. Spectavere furcis duo-  
 denos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Lu-  
 dicrum fuit equi pugilesque, ex Etruria maxime acciti.  
 Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique  
 10 varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis  
 aedificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernaeque factae.  
 36 Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum  
 Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita  
 res fuit ut prius Anienem transirent hostes quam ob-  
 viam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque  
 2 trepidatum Romae est. Et primo dubia victoria magna  
 utrimque caede pugnatum est; reductis deinde in castra  
 hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum  
 de integro bellum, Tarquinius, equitem maxime suis

7. *quanta, what.* — *fama, expectation*; i.e. the booty was greater than the supposed extent of the war had led men to expect. — *opulentius*: of the magnificence in expense; *instructius*: of the variety and extent of the performances.

8. *designatus*: i.e. then first the valley beyond the Palatine was appointed for the games, which afterwards became the regular place. — *spectacula*: here *seats*, or *grandstands*, each order erecting its own. — *facerent*: see Gr. 317. *e.* — *fori*: the name refers to the passages between, rather than the localities themselves. — *appellati*: see Gr. 316. *b.*

9. *spectavere, the spectators sat.* — *furcis, etc., with props, etc.* — *ludicrum, the exhibition.* — *sollemnes, regular, stated.*

10. *et*: i.e. as well as the arrangements of the *Circus Maximus*. — *aedificanda*: see Gr. 500. 4. — *porticus*: these were arcades, in which the business and outdoor intercourse of the Romans regularly took place. They were always a favorite form of decoration for cities. — *tabernae*: simple booths or shops for retail wares, such as are still found in many cities of Europe. As the remains appear in Pompeii, they are little stalls not larger than a market-stall, with the front entirely open, having a counter flush with the street, accessible to persons on the sidewalks.

36. *coeptis*: a substantive, as often in poetry and late Latin; cf. *orsis*, *Pref.* 13. — *intervenit*: indic. with '*cum inversum*'; see Gr. 546. *a.* — *posset*: see Gr. 551. *b.*

viribus ratus, ad Ramnes Titienses Luceres, quas  
as Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit suo-  
signes relinquere nomine.

quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat, negare Attus 3  
inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari  
novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse.  
ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 'Age- 4  
inquit, 'divine tu, inaugura fierine possit quod  
ego mente concipio.' Cum ille in augurio rem  
us profecto futuram dixisset, 'Atqui hoc animo  
' inquit, 'te novacula cotem discissurum; cape  
t perage quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt.'  
illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt.

Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in 5  
in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit; cotem  
eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad  
os miraculi eius monumentum.

as centurias: see 13. 8.  
as the others had been  
from Romulus and Ta-

augurato: see Gr. 419. c.  
e... neque: these words  
negative do not contra-  
negative; see Gr. 327. 2;  
2 n. — mutari, etc.: i.e.  
ould be changed only by as  
authority as that by which  
been established. — aves:  
ods speaking through them.  
dens, scoffing at, by means  
problem which he sets. —  
i.e. of augury. — divine,  
he emphasis gives a force  
g like, 'Come, you are  
reat soothsayer, determine.'  
inaugura, determine by au-  
in, in the process of, and so  
s of. — atqui, now, with an  
ve shade, inasmuch as Tar-  
ceives the thing as impos-

sible. — aniino: not different from  
mente, except that there is a slight  
idea of intention in agitati, while  
the other expression only refers to  
the thing imagined, as a present  
idea. — novacula: the first barbers  
are said by Varro (Plin. N. H. VII.  
59) to have come to Rome from  
Sicily in 300 B.C., and this is the  
only mention of razors prior to that  
time; but they have been found in  
graves, and were no doubt known,  
though not generally used. — haec:  
the razor and whetstone, which he  
hands him. — aves tuae: scorn-  
fully. — haud cunctanter: i.e.  
without making any question or  
excuse, indicating his faith in his  
art.

5. velato: the style of the augur.  
— gradibus: the steps up from  
that part of the Forum to the sen-  
ate house. — sitam fuisse, was  
(once) deposited; see Gr. 495. N.

- 6 Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum,  
 7 ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille octingenti equites  
 8 in tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores modo sub isdem nominibus qui additi erant appellati sunt, quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.  
 37 Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa iacentem, ardentem in flumen conicerent; ventoque iuvante accensa ligna, et pleraque impacta in ratibus publicis cum hae-

6. *certe*: *i.e.* whether the old tradition is true or not. — *nihil*, etc.: *i.e.* whereas augury had only been used for the most important matters, now nothing of any account was done without it. — *concilia populi*: probably the *comitia tributa*. — *exercitus*: the *comitia centuriata*, which was assembled as a military muster; cf. 44. 1. — *summa rerum*, *acts of the highest moment*, in apposition with the preceding. — *admisissent*: cf. *ubi dixisset*, 32. 13 n. — *dirimerentur*: *i.e.* the bodies called together for the highest functions of the state are dissolved again, if the omens are unfavorable. This power of interrupting proceedings by real or pretended auspices (*obnuntiatio*) became a potent factor in politics, and continued through the republic.

7. *neque tum*: *i.e.* Tarquin was prevented from doing what he intended on that occasion; an example under the general rule just given. — *mutavit*: *i.e.* he did not add a

new division, he only increased the number, which was not an innovation. — *alterum tantum*, *as many more*; cf. 'as much again.' Livy probably wrote the words in this order, though the MSS. have *tantum alterum*, here and X. 46. — *mille octingenti*: this number does not agree with Livy's other accounts (cf. 13. 8, 30. 3), but it is to be remembered that Livy does not claim exactness; and as accounts differed, he takes sometimes one and sometimes another. The whole subject is in utter confusion.

8. *modo*: *i.e.* only they did have a distinctive name, *posteriores*. — *geminatae*: from three to six. — *sex centurias*: regularly *sex suffragia*, as having, under the Servian constitution, six votes as centuries. The number of persons is uncertain.

#### WAR WITH THE SABINES.

37. *ex occulto*: opposed to the increased Roman strength, which was an open advantage. — *arden-*

rerent, pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna<sup>2</sup> terrorem attulit Sabinis, effusis eadem fugam impediit, multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso perire; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi, prius paene quam nuntiari posset, insignem victoriam fecere.

Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit. Vtrisque<sup>3</sup> ab cornibus positos, cum iam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso<sup>4</sup> cursu Sabini petebant. Et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium — id votum Vulcano erat — ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere, et quamquam male gestae res<sup>6</sup> erant nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite iterumque ibi fusi, perditis iam prope rebus, pacem petiere.

**tem**: a prædicate participle, 'which they had first set on fire.' — **impacta**: against the piles. — **in rati-bus**: *i.e.* in masses. — **pontem**: the bridge over the Anio, over which the Sabines must cross to get home again.

**2. quoque**: as well as the increased strength of the Romans. — **effusis**: opposed to in pugna. — **eadem** (*sc. res*): the same cause. — **arma**: so far as they were not of metal. — **cognita**, *recognized*. — **insignem**, etc.: gave sure signs of the victory.

**3. suorum**: the use of the reflexive gives the situation as it presented itself to the minds of the

cavalry. — **sisterent**: in its causative sense, *stayed*; cf. 12. 5. — **cedentibus**, on the yielding Romans.

**4. et**, and in fact. — **pauci**, a few (though but few).

**5. praeda**: what was valuable; **spoliis**: arms and the like. — **id**: *i.e.* the burning of the spoils. — **votum**: perhaps on the occasion of burning the bridge.

**6. gesturos**: *sc. se*; for the emphatic position, see Gr. 598. d (3). — **quia consulendi**, etc.: *i.e.* if they had had time, they might have determined to make peace without fighting farther. — **tumultuario milite**: with an unorganized militia, such as was called together upon a sudden

38 Collatia et quicquid citra Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum, Egerius — fratris hic filius erat regis — Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita  
 2 accipio eamque deditiois formulam esse: Rex interrogavit 'Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Conlatino, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dederetis?' 'Sumus.' 'Estne populus Conlatinus in sua potestate?' 'Est.' 'Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populiue Romani dicionem?' 'Dedimus.' 'At ego recipio.'

3 Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam  
 4 redit. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit, ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est: ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumarium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta.

alarm, as opposed to regular troops in a prepared war. — *petiere*: that it was granted appears from the conditions given in the next chapter.

#### FORMULA OF SURRENDER; WAR AGAINST THE LATINS.

38. *citra*: between Collatia and Rome, which is about ten miles distant. — *in praesidio*: either as a temporary garrison or a permanent colony.

2. *estisne*: for order, see Gr. 598. d (2). The first question is as to the credentials of the representatives; the second, as to the right of the people itself as an independent state; the third, as to the will of the parties. The form of surrender embraces everything over which

the state has ownership or authority, including all religious property, so that the Romans held everything that belonged to the commonwealth, and the surrendered became a mass of individuals with only individual rights. — *at, then*; the antithesis is found in the opposed relations of the two parties.

3. *triumphans*: not merely *in triumph*, but in formal procession, as it were, in the style of the later technical triumph; cf. 10. 5 n.

4. *ad universae*, etc., *to a general decisive combat*, wherein the war could be fought out between the two peoples; in fact the Latins were subdued in detail. — *Corniculum*: cf. 39. 5. — *Crustumarium*: cf. 10. 3. — *Medullia*: cf. 33. 4.

Maiore inde animo pacis opera incohata quam quanta 5  
mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset  
quam militiae fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cuius exor- 6  
dium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, qua  
nondum munierat, cingere parat, et infima urbis loca  
circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia  
ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fasti-  
gio in Tiberim ductis siccant, et aream ad aedem in Capi- 7  
tolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente  
animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat funda-  
mentis.

Eo tempore in regia prodigium visum eventumque mira- 39  
bile fuit. Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen,  
caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plurimo 2  
igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos  
reges et, cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguen-

5. **animo** . . . **mole** : *i.e.* the spirit with which he improved the city in peace was greater than the effort he had made in war. — **quietior** : as the labor was enforced like military service, the imposition was as great in peace as it had been in war.

6. **exordium** : see 36. 1. — **infima** : including the Forum, and the valleys running into it, the region between that and the Tiber, and the Circus Maximus. — **ex planis**, etc. : the reason why the water did not run off, because there was no pitch. — **fastigio**, with a grade. The level did not carry off the water, and so the sewer was built sloping down to the Tiber, necessarily under ground.

7. **aream** : the regular Latin word for a lot in a city; here of the place on which the great temple was afterwards to be built. — **futuram** : *i.e.* *quae futura erat*; see

Gr. 499. 1. — **fundamentis** : the substructure to enlarge and level the rough hill. The temple was not built till afterwards; see 55. 2.

#### BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF SERVIVS TULLIVS.

39. **eo tempore** : *i.e.* in the part of the reign of Tarquin just described. — **visum** : *sc. est*; the second part (with **fuit**) is from a different point of view, yet undoubtedly it is the thought of **fuit** that makes Livy omit the copula. — **eventu**, its fulfillment. — **puero** : it is not necessarily but naturally implied that he was a slave. — **Tullio** : cf. *Troiano*, 1. 3 n. — **arsisse** : a common omen among the ancients; cf. Virg. *Aen.* II. 681 *seq.*

2. **clamore** : the means of excitation. — **ad** : cf. *ad desiderium*, 7. 7 n. — **reges**, the royal family. — **familiarium**, servants, in accordance with its derivation from *familia*, famu-

dum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum donec sua sponte expectatus esset. Mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil 'Viden tu puerum hunc' inquit, 'quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae afflictæ. Proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus.'

Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi erudirique artibus quibus ingenia ad magnæ fortunæ cultum excitantur. Evenit facile quod diis cordi esset: iuvenis evasit vere indolis regiae nec, cum quaereretur gener

*lus.* — *retentum*: because the queen recognized the supernatural character of the occurrence. — *sedato*: i.e. at her command. The position of *eam* gives the ablative absolute the force of a perfect active participle in agreement with the pronoun. — *moveri*, to be disturbed. — *expectatus esset*: see Gr. 553. N. 2, 580.

3. in *secretum*, in private; the regular word for a private interview. — *viden*: the regular colloquial form of *videsne*; cf. *do not* and *don't* in English. — *inquit*: this sudden change from indirect to direct discourse is common in all periods of the language, either with or without the verb of saying. — *humili*: in reference to his position as a slave. — *scire licet*, it is clear; cf. *scilicet*, which is often, though not regularly, used in the same sense. — *lumen*: in allusion to the phenomenon; cf. for the figure, *lucem adferre rei publicæ*, Cic. *Manil.* 12. 33. — *hunc* (regularly *hoc*, Gr. 296. a): here equivalent to *hunc puerum*. — *quondam*, at

some time; cf. *Aen.* VI. 876, and the common use of *olim*. — *regiæ*, the royal house. — *proinde*: cf. 9. 4 n. — *publice*: see Gr. 321. c. N. This use becomes more and more frequent in later writers.

4. *liberum*, of a son. The word, denoting collectively the children of the house as opposed to the slaves, is frequently used of one person. — *coeptum*: resuming the indirect discourse. — *artibus*: sc. *liberalibus*, as a liberal education is still called. — *magnæ fortunæ*, of a lofty position. — *cultum*: opposed to *cultu* in 3, but with a different shade of meaning; there the process, and here the result, as in the much-abused *culture*. It means everything that belongs to life and its ideals. — *excitantur*, are elevated. — *esset*: characteristic subjunctive, as often happens, giving at the same time the reason why it turned out so. See Gr. 535. — *indolis*: predicate after *evasit*; cf. *incedo regina*, and see Gr. 343. b. — *arte*: cf. *artibus* above, but best translated *quality*

Tarquinius, quisquam Romanae iuventutis ulla arte con-ferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit.

Hic quacumque de causa tantus illi honos habitus 5 credere prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum qui, Corniculo capto, Servi Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidisse Prisci Tarquini domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres 6 familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.

Duodequadragesimo ferme anno ex quo regnare coe- 40 perat Tarquinius non apud regem modo, sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat.

or respect. — *filiamque*, and accordingly, etc.

5. *hic*: i.e. the honor of being married to the king's daughter. — *quacumque de causa*: implying that Livy has a doubt about the preceding story accounting for the superiority of Servius to the other youth; cf. 3. 3. — *honos habitus*, the fact that, etc.; see Gr. 497. — *credere*: see Gr. 558. b. N. — *serva natum*: according to one tradition, he had, like other heroes, a supernatural origin, being the son of the *Lar familiaris* of the house. — *Corniculo*: an old Latin town near Tivoli; cf. 38. 4. — *princeps*: the tradition satisfies the necessary requirements by making him of royal blood. — *occiso . . . captivas*: according to the laws of war, the males capable of bearing arms were killed, and the women and chil-

dren made slaves. — *prohibitam*: the noble commander's wife was reserved by womanly compassion from the usual fate. — *domo*: instead of *domi*; cf. *bello*, 34. 12.

6. *beneficio*: the rescue of the mother. — *fortunam*, the fate; here, as often, of bad fortune. — *patria*, native city, as usual. In ancient times the city was the unit of political life; cf. *cremata patria*, 1. 8. — *serva*: as she was legally but for the rescue.

#### MURDER OF TARQUIN.

40. *duodequadragesimo*: the importance of the date comes from its being that of the king's death, although that occurrence is not immediately mentioned. The effect is, 'In the year, etc., occurred the king's death in the following manner.'

- 2 Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas crescere, si ne  
 3 ad Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quod Romulus, deo prognatus deus ipse, tenuerit regnum donec in terris fuerit, id Servius serva natus possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis, tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva non modo advenis sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret.
- 4 Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et, quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus, tum Servio occiso quemcūque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur, ob haec ipsi regi

2. **Anci filii**: see 35. 1. — **antea**: opposed to **tum** below. — **non modo**: in such expressions, where there is only one verb, **ne** is sufficient to negative the whole, though we say 'not only *not* . . . but not even.' See Gr. 217. e. — **vicinae**: which Numa had been. — **indignitas crescere**: instead of a verb to go with filii, which in the long parenthesis has been forgotten. — **si . . . rediret**: the apodosis is merged in **indignitas**; properly, 'it would be *indignum*, they felt, if they should not,' etc. See Gr. 592. 2.

3. **porro**: Tarquin, though a for-eigner, had not been a slave, so that the present prospect was a still further step downward. — **servitia**: the generalizing plural, though only *servum* is meant. — **tenuerit**, etc.:

see Gr. 585. b, and N. — **Servius**: with a sarcastic allusion to its derivation from *servus*. — **advenis**: like Tarquinus.

4. **sed**: opposed to the inference that Servius would be the object of their attack. — **et . . . et**: there were three reasons for the attack upon Tarquin, one introduced by the first **et**, and the other two grouped together by **quia . . . tum**, and introduced by the second **et**. — **iniuriae**: their wrongs had been occasioned originally by the acts of Tarquin. — **superesset**: standing for *superis* in their thought. — **delegisset**: standing for fut. perf. *delegerit* in their thought. — **eundem**, etc.: if he survived, they could not prevent him from choosing a son-in-law, and it was likely

insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti 5  
ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus  
ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuo-  
sissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios con-  
vertunt. Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque  
eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem  
pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter 6  
alteri obstrepere. Coerciti ab lictore et iussi invicem  
dicere tandem obloqui desistunt, unus rem ex composito  
orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, 7  
alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vul-  
nere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

Tarquinius moribundum cum qui circa erant exce- 41  
pissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor  
inde concursusque populi mirantium quid rei esset.  
Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros  
eiecit; simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam  
spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si destituat spes,  
alia praesidia molitur.

this son-in-law would be made king, whoever he should be.

5. *ferocissimi*, most desperate. — *quibus*: *sc. eis*; see Gr. 307. b. — *ferramentis*, implements, pikes, axes, or the like, for defense against wolves, and for chopping; cf. *securim*, below. — *vestibulo*: conceived as a yard in front of the house, no doubt the original sense of the word. — *rixae*: the pretended quarrel was between themselves, and their violent action draws the attention of the servitors to keep the peace. — *appellarent*: each one appealed to the king for justice. — *vocati*: the king heard them and called them in.

6. *vociferari*, began to cry out at once. — *certatim*, etc., obstreper-

ously endeavor to, etc. — *obloqui*, to interrupt each other. — *rem* (to state) his case.

7. *totus*: see Gr. 290. — *avertet*: see Gr. 556. a. n.

41. *excepissent*, had caught, as he fell. — *illos fugientes*, the flying assassins. — *mirantium*: see Gr. 286. b. — *quid rei esset*, what the matter was; see Gr. 346. a. 3. — *arbitros*: in its earlier sense of witnesses. — *simul... simul*: correlatives not found in Cicero, but frequent in Livy. — *curando*: cf. Gr. 505. — *subesset*, there were still; for tense, see Gr. 524. — *destituat*: present sequence, to avoid the implication of the contrary-to-fact idea. The apodosis is merged in *alia praesidia*.

- 2 Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat ne inultam mortem  
3 soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. 'Tuum est' inquit, 'Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa  
4 caelestis excitet flamma, nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea  
5 consilia sequere.' Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam viam versas — habitabat enim rex ad  
Iovis Statoris — populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu, ferum haud alte in corpus descendisse, iam ad se redisse, inspectum vulnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse.

2. *virum, her husband. — inultam, etc.*: the arrangement is chastic. — *ludibrio*: according to ancient ideas, an unavenged outrage makes the sufferer a subject of ridicule, a laughing-stock.

3. *vir, a man*, really and truly such; cf. 'all are not men who wear the human form.' — *alienis*: implying that the *pastores* were only the agents of the sons of Ancus. — *facinus fecere*: a favorite form of alliteration in Latin, like 'do a deed' in English. — *vere*: as opposed to his former awaking from sleep. Now he is to awake from his unambitious sloth. — *et nos, etc.*: i.e. we, too, were foreigners as well as you, and yet we gained the royal power. — *qui sis*: i.e. your great genius, as opposed to your humble origin. — *tua*: notice the emphasis, opposed to *mea*. — *consilia, counsels*; i.e. the knowl-

edge what to do. — *torpent, are paralyzed.*

4. *clamor impetusque, etc., the clamorous, rushing crowd*; i.e. the throng trying to break into the palace. — *ex superiore, etc.*: the Roman houses were built with hardly any windows in the lower story on the street, as is seen in the ruins of Pompeii, but with openings closed by shutters in the upper stories. — *Novam viam*: this street descended from the ancient Porta Mugionis, on the Palatine, along the Forum. The temple of Jupiter Stator was on it. The ruins of these places are still traceable on the newly excavated Palatine Hill. — *habitabat, etc., for the king's house was, etc.*

5. *sopitum, rendered unconscious*. — *fuisse*: after the word of saying implied in *iubet*. — *confidere*: sc. *se*, omitted on account of the rapidity of the narrative. —

fidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio  
 io iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura  
 liturum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. (Servius 6  
 a trabea et lictoribus prodit ac, sede regia sedens,  
 decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat.  
 ue per aliquot dies, cum iam exspirasset Tarquinius,  
 ta morte per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas  
 s firmavit; tum demum palam factum est ex complora-  
 e in regia orta. Servius, praesidio firmo munitus,  
 nus iniussu populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci 7  
 ri iam tum, compensis sceleris ministris, ut vivere  
 em et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam  
 etiam exsulatum ierant.  
 fec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam priva- 42  
 nunire opes et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adver-  
 Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini liberum

re: *sc. regem*; cf. last note.  
 ullio: see Gr. 367. a. N. 2. —

... esse: the words of the  
 — iura redditurum, *would*  
*use justice*; one of the chief  
 ions of a king; cf. the legal  
 n of English courts, 'Court of  
 's Bench,' etc.

trabea: a robe, worn by the  
 kings, and preserved in the  
 of the augurs and Salii, and  
 e equites and consuls on spe-  
 occasions. It was certainly  
 gated in color, probably by  
 le and white stripes (*trabes*).

ictoribus: cf. 8. 2. — sede

t: Livy has in his mind the  
*curulis*, which was certainly  
 one of the insignia of supreme  
 r, but perhaps not in early  
 . — alia . . . aliis: *i.e.* differ-  
 questions that were brought be-  
 him. — simulat: thus keeping  
 ne pretence that he was acting  
 substitute for the king. — ce-

lata: accompanying (not preced-  
 ing) the main action (*firmavit*); a  
 use of the perfect participle that  
 grows more and more common,  
 but is on the whole rare except in  
 some deponents (Gr. 491). — ali-  
enae: see Gr. 343. a. — vicis: cf.  
*regiae vicis*, 20. 2. — suas: op-  
 posed to *alienae*. — tum demum:  
*i.e.* not till after he had secured his  
 power, as set forth. — praesidio,  
*body-guard*. — iniussu, *not elected*:  
 cf. 17. 10. — voluntate, *the acquies-*  
*cence*, as opposed to their formal  
 approval (*auctoritate*).

7. iam tum: *i.e.* before Servius  
 acted independently as king.

#### WARS AND INSTITUTIONS OF SERVIUS.

42. publicis, etc.: *i.e.* his offi-  
 cial acts; privatis: *i.e.* his pro-  
 ceedings in his domestic affairs,  
 mentioned in the following sen-  
 tence. — Anci liberum: cf. 40. 2.

esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis Lucio atque Arrunti  
 2 Tarquiniis iungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem  
 humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domes-  
 ticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peroportune  
 ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus —  
 3 iam enim indutiae exierant — aliisque Etruscis sump-  
 tum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tulli,  
 fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex, seu  
 patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit.  
 4 Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut,  
 quemadmodum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset, ita  
 Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordi-  
 numque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque  
 5 aliquid interlucet, posteris fama ferrent. Censum enim  
 instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo  
 belli pacisque munia non viritim ut ante, sed pro habitu

2. *nec rupit*, etc.: a short-hand way of saying, 'and yet he did not succeed (for it is impossible to change the course of destiny by human counsels) in preventing,' etc. — *invidia regni*, the envious desire for the regal power. — *domesticos*, his own family, but with the same general reference that is seen in the preceding sentence. — *praesentis*: referring to the hint of discord above, 'though trouble was brewing, yet for the moment,' etc. — *indutiae*: cf. 30. 7. — *exierant*: the sacred character of ancient compacts caused peoples to set a definite limit to treaties, in order to provide for contingencies. In modern times nations are rarely so particular.

3. *enituit*, were conspicuous (see Gr. 317. c). — *haud dubius rex*: i.e. *haud dubie futurus rex*; see Gr. 499. 3, and 512. c. — *periclitaretur*, if he had made a trial

(by offering himself for election). See Gr. 517. a, and *ε. n.* 2.

4. *ut*: with *ferrent*. — *divini*: opposed to the general idea of *civil* law contained in the following. — *ita*: correlative with *quem ad modum*. — *Servium*: instead of *se*, as representing the language of future fame. — *discriminis*, *distinctions* (properly abstract); *ordinum*: the same idea concretely. — *quibus*, *whereby*. — *interlucet*: indicative, as representing a kind of explanatory remark of Livy's. The word gives the idea of conspicuous differences. — *ferrent*: a purpose clause, in apposition with *opus* (to have posterity celebrate the fame of).

5. *censum*: the word implies the whole institution, though properly meaning only the rating itself. — *tanto*, etc., for a power destined to be so great. — *ex quo*, in accordance with which. — *belli pacisque*

niarum fierent. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc nem ex censu discripsit vel paci decorum vel bello. ex iis qui centum milium aeris aut maiorem censum 43 fierent octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas senum ac iuniorum — prima classis omnes appellati —iores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes urbis bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeus, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere, — haec ut tegumenta urbis essent; tela in hostem hastaque et gladius.

a: *i.e.* service and taxes. — *vis*: individually. — *pro habitu*, *referring to the state* (of their *es*). — *fierent*, *should be performed*; subjunctive of purpose. — *i.e.* after having caused the *ment* to be made. — *classes*: *order*, akin to *calare*, but borrowed from Greek κλήσις (*is*), must have originally referred to the *calling out* of troops, *militia* is called to arms (cf. *whence* its constant use for *and fleet*. But at the time of *ervian Constitution*, its *mean-* must have changed, so that it to express the different *divis-* according to property. — *cen-*: this word also doubtless *ed* its meaning at this time, *ame* to be used of divisions *ective* of numbers. — *hunc*: *e* one given in the following. *linem*, *scale*; the order in *rights* and duties were given, *ling* to the assessment already — *paci*: as giving dignity *itical* and social relations. — *e* one would expect *utile* or *ce*, but that idea is merged *e* splendor of the organiza-

*nal ratings*; for, first, these depended upon holdings of land, and second, they are not based on the full pound of copper, the original *as*, but upon the later reduced value. — *aeris*: equal to *assium*; here probably reckoned of the value of one-tenth of a *denarius* (15 to 20 cts.). The fortune of the first class would therefore be about two thousand dollars of our money. — *censum*, *fortune*; an almost technical use of the word; properly, *rating*. — *confecit*, *he made up*. — *centurias*: here not a definite number, but a division of the class, whatever number it happened to be. — *seniorum*: from forty-five to sixty. — *iuniorum*: from seventeen to forty-five.

2. *omnes*: *i.e.* both seniors and juniors. — *ad urbis*, etc.: the whole was especially a military institution, although used also for other purposes. — *essent*: depending on *confecit*. — *imperata*: they were obliged to provide their own equipment; this sense of *requisition* is undoubtedly the original one of *impero*. — *galea*: a leather cap with metal mountings. — *clipeum* (here neuter): the round shield like that carried by Greek warriors. — *tegumenta corporis*: *i.e.* defensive armor, opposed to *tela*. — *que et*: for *et . . . et*, as often in *Livy*; cf. II. 59. 7.

#### THE SERVIAN ARMY.

*centum milium*: these *ers* can hardly be the origi-

- 3 Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus ut machinas in  
 4 bello ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta, et ex iis, senioribus iunioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae. Arma imperata scutum pro clipeo et praeter lorica  
 5 omnia eadem. Tertiae classis in quinquaginta milium censum esse voluit. Totidem centuriae et hae, eodemque discrimine aetatum factae; nec de armis quicquam  
 6 mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium, totidem centuriae factae; arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et verutum da  
 7 tum. Quinta classis aucta, centuriae triginta factae; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant; in his

3. *additae*, etc.: the form of this statement indicates that these were not selected according to the census. — *fabrum*, *engineers*, but acting as a sort of artillery. — *machinas*: the engines for throwing stones and darts, corresponding to modern ordnance.

4. *scutum*: the oblong, curved shield of the later soldiers. — *loricam*: *i.e.* they had no bronze breast-plate, which was made unnecessary by the size and shape of the shield.

6. *mutata*, etc.: with the fourth class begin the distinctively light-armed. They had no defensive armor. — *verutum*: a light dart, not used as a lance, like the *hasta*, but only for a missile. With the *hasta*, however, they could form a part of the solid phalanx as well, but only in the rear of the heavy-armed.

7. *in his accensi*, etc.: no very satisfactory meaning can be made out of these words, because any view seems to be inconsistent with the known facts. The whole num-

ber of centuries is agreed upon as 193:—

1st class . . .	80
Fabri . . .	2
2d class . . .	20
3d class . . .	20
4th class . . .	20
5th class . . .	30
Remainder . .	1 (?)
New Equites .	12
Old Equites .	6
Cornicines, etc.	2 (3 ?)

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It is possible, however, to suppose that Livy is dealing with the original army only, and that in this the *una centuria immunis militia* is not counted. Instead of the whole century, certain persons from that part of the population were doubtless added (*accensi*) as orderlies and other attendants, and may have, with the musicians, made up the three mentioned by Livy, being counted in the fifth class. This explanation makes sense of the first passage, but contradicts 8. The

si, cornicines, tubicinesque, in tres centurias distri-

Vndecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc 8  
r census reliquam multitudinem habuit; inde una  
ria facta est, immunis militia.

pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque equitum ex  
oribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex 9  
alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub  
quibus inauguratae erant nominibus fecit. Ad  
emendos dena milia aeris ex publico data, et qui-  
equos alerent, viduae attributae, quae bina milia

on is probably Livy's own, writing so long after, may have counted the unclassified as one century, which in to the army they were not. *ensi*: originally *enrolled in ad-* but later used as a name for *units on magistrates*. Here, if *ory* given above is adopted, it *e* taken in its original sense, *noun*. — *cornicines*: 'play-*the horn*'; originally literally *er a* bronze instrument of a *d* shape was used, the proper *t* of the cavalry. — *tubi-* *players on the (straight)* *t*, the proper instrument of *t*. — *tres*: to make this num-*rect*, we must suppose some *istake* as above suggested,\* *g* three extra centuries of *or-* and *musicians*.

*milibus*: ablative of price. — *i.e.* than the eleven thousand. *us*: a short-hand form for *all* of those having such an *t* of property. — *inde*: *i.e.* — *immunis*: only those who *stake* in the country were *ed* to make good soldiers or *fit* to vote. — *militia*: abla-*separation*. The more reg-*onstruction* would be *geni-* — *ornato*: loosely used, not

of actual but of regulated equip-*ment*. — *primoribus*, *leading men*; apparently chosen arbitrarily, though they would naturally be from the first class. — *duodecim*: apparently Servius, wishing to increase the cav-*alry* as well as the votes of the better class, with true Roman conservatism, did not disturb the old equites, as they had been originally instituted from noble families, but merely dou-*bled* their number, and enrolled twelve other centuries not necessarily from the nobles.

9. *sex alias*, etc.: these were, no doubt, the original equites, which Servius did not venture to disturb. They were always distinguished afterwards as the *sex suffragia*. — *tribus*, etc.: ablative absolute. — *isdem*: the names had a religious character and could not be dis-*turbed*. The centuries were called *prior*es, *posterior*es, with the origi-*nal* designation; cf. 36. 8. — *nomi-* *nibus*: see 13. 8. — *dena milia*: the *aes equestre*, whence the knights were called *equites equo publico*. — *ex publico*: *i.e.* from the treasury. — *quibus*: loosely construed with *bina milia*. — *viduae*: unmarried women of fortune, who thus paid their share of the common bur-*dens*. — *bina milia*: the *aes hor-*

aeris in annos singulos penderent. Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera.

- 10 Deinde est honos additus: non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium eadem vi eodemque iure promisce omnibus datum est, sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset.
- 11 Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae primum peditum vocabantur; ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut secundae classis vocarentur, nec fere umquam infra ita descenderent ut ad
- 12 infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero centuriis iuniorum seniorumque,

*dearium*. — *haec omnia*: all the arrangements of the constitution in regard to military service, which bore harder on the rich, from the expense of arms and horses, etc.

10. *honos*: *i.e.* a compensating privilege. — *viritim*: *i.e.* each man having a separate vote. — *gradus facti*: this was done by giving each century one vote, though the numbers of the centuries differed enormously. — *vis omnis*, etc.: eighteen centuries of equites and eighty of the first class at once made a majority if they agreed.

11. *primum*: genitive plural with *peditum*, consisting of the best class of the foot, *i.e.* the richest. — *ibi*: *i.e. in eis*; cf. *ubi*, 38. 4. — *variaret*: see Gr. 518. c. — *ut vocarentur*: the construction is distorted by *incidebat*, as if the whole depended on a verb of *happening* instead of being independent, as in *vocabantur*. — *descenderent*: *sc.* the people in voting.

12. *nec mirari*, etc.: Livy here evidently refers to the different state

of things in his time in regard to the relative power of the classes of people. At some time in the third century B.C., the constitution was so changed that the first class lost its power of voting first, and at the same time the number of centuries was so altered (probably by increase) that the higher classes no longer constituted a majority, as they had under the Servian constitution. The precise nature of the change is unknown, but the organization of the centuries was approximated to that of the local tribes, whereas under the Servian constitution the centuries were independent of the tribes. — *mirari*: *sc. quemquam*. — *ordinem, organisation*, but referring particularly to the number (cf. *summam* below) and the consequent change in the tendency of the constitution. — *expletas*: the number of tribes was gradually increased from four to thirty-five. — *duplicato*: just how this is to be taken is uncertain. If we look at the text alone, it

ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque <sup>13</sup> qui habitabantur, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror a tributo—nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est; neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinere.

Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de in- <sup>44</sup> censu latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis in campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi <sup>2</sup> instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit, idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is cen-

would indicate a doubling of the number of tribes, which of course cannot be true in any literal sense. Perhaps Livy means that, as a basis for the centuriar system, their number was practically doubled by the division of each into *seniores* and *iuniores*. This would give  $35 \times 2 = 70$  centuries in each of the five classes, or in all 350 centuries of infantry, making with the *equites*, etc., a total of 373. But our information is too scanty to afford a certain solution of the question.—*summam*: *sc. centuriarum*.

<sup>13</sup> *regionibus collibusque*: ablative of respect. The names were *Suburana*, *Palatina*, *Esquilina*, *Collina*. Livy's words seem intended to describe these, one of which was named from a locality, two from particular hills, and one from *collis*.—*tribus*: these were now no longer races, but local divisions.—*tributo*: as usual with ancient etymologies, this is wrong end to; *tribuo* must come from *tribus*.—*eius*: *i.e.* the *tributum*; not any regular tax, but the occasional demands of the government in emergencies.

These were undoubtedly assigned locally at first (*tribus*), but now were apportioned, according to Livy, among the citizens of the several local divisions according to the census.—*aequaliter*, *fairly*, not 'equally.'—*neque*, but . . . not.—*eae*: in contrast with the later, which evidently did have to do with it.

#### REVIEW AND LUSTRATION.

<sup>44</sup> *maturaverat metu*: *i.e.* he had a law passed which expedited the process, and so completed it sooner.—*incensis*, *those not enrolled*.—*edixit*, etc.: *i.e.* he made a general muster of the entire people in its organization as an army.

<sup>2</sup> *instructum*: *i.e.* the army was first set in array as a fighting force, and in that form was consecrated, as it were, by the religious ceremonies.—*suovetaurilibus*: referring to the regular leading of the swine, sheep, and bull around the body with appropriate ceremonies, and the subsequent sacrifice of the victims.—*conditum*, *completed*,

sendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. Adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum qui arma ferre possent eum numerum fuisse.

- 3 Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias, ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat  
4 urbem; ita pomerium profert. Pomerium verbi vim

hence later *closed*, when the final act was used for the intervening period.—*censendo*, the *enrollment*, referring to the whole process by which every five years the censors 'numbered the people,' and assigned the rank of individuals according to property.—*lustrum*: this word, meaning only the final act of purification, was used of the whole process of numbering.—*adicit*: of course a different account from that just given, but as Fabius' view exaggerates the number, Livy may properly say *adds*. This view would make the number about five times as great.

3. *ad*, in accordance with; a characteristic loose use of the preposition.—*urbs quoque*: as the population had been.—*adicit*: *sc.* Servius.—*duos colles*, etc.: increasing the city towards the north, on the other side of the Forum. The two hills are two projecting ridges of the high plateau of the Esquiline.—*Quirinalem*: this can hardly be true, for on this hill are some of the very oldest monuments of the city, and it is said by other authorities to have been the abode of the Sabines from the time of Romulus.—*inde*, then, of time; *deinceps*, next, of succession.—*auget Esquilias*: by increasing the population, as it was no doubt inhabited before. The

derivation of the word (*ex-colo*) seems to imply that the hill was a suburb which Servius now adds to the city proper.—*habitat*: cf. 41. 4.—*aggere*, etc.: these fortifications have been traced for almost their entire length. The most prominent part of them is the great embankment, some portions of which still exist, on the east side, where the city is most exposed. It was a bank 21 feet high, faced with stone, originally surrounded by a ditch, as was probably the rest of the fortification. The wall of Tarquinius Priscus (36. 1, 38. 6) was either not finished or not large enough.—*ita*: in reference to the increase of the interior implied in *circumdat urbem*.—*pomerium*: originally a space left vacant *inside* (and so behind) the walls to facilitate defensive operations. After cities began to develop suburbs, the same usage would continue in regard to the *outside*, and this part of the space came, from religious considerations, to be the most important part. Hence the necessity of Livy's explanation. Cf. Gellius XIII. 14, *pomerium est locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinatus, qui facit finem urbani auspicii*. In later times the limit of this space was held sacred, and only such

solam intuentes postmoerium interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod 5 neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt, et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus 45 domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum. Id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter proceres

rulers as had increased the bounds of the empire could enlarge it.

4. *vim solam*, merely the literal meaning. — *postmoerium*: i.e. *post moeros*, old form of *muros*. — *locus quem*: instead of the regular *quem locum* (Gr. 307. c), because *locus* expresses not a mere reference, but an explanatory appositional idea: 'that is to say, a space,' etc. — *moenibus*: dative; a poetic construction; cf. Gr. 368. a. — *continuarentur*, should be extended to, border upon; *coniungunt*, attach to; a closer contact than the other, hence *etiam*. — *puri*: not merely free from, but uncontaminated by. — *ab*: an archaic construction instead of the simple ablative.

#### UNION OF ROME AND LATIUM.

45. *civitate*, the state, as a commonwealth; *urbis*, the city proper as a dwelling-place. — *omnibus*: ablative of *omnia*, contrary to the general usage, which avoids such ambiguities. — *domi*: opposed to *augere imperium*. — *armis*: opposed to *consilio*. — *urbi*: opposed to *imperium*.

2. *communiter*: such common sanctuaries were at once the monument, the pledge, and the bond of ancient political unions, as in this case of the twelve Ionic cities of Asia Minor. The example Servius astutely turns to the aggrandizement of Rome. — *consensum*: the agreement and harmony of the cities. — *deos consociatos*: what we

Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem ut Romae fanum Dianae populi  
 3 Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat.

Id quamquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Latino-  
 rum ob rem totiens infeliciter temptatam armis videba-  
 tur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio  
 4 imperii recipiendi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri  
 familiae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie. Fixa  
 per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae  
 5 monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res  
 prodigii loco est, et cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam

should express by 'religious union' or 'united worship.' — **publice**, etc.: in the absence of organized international relations in ancient times, their place was supplied by special treaties of *hospitium*, i.e. a relation under which citizens of a state (**publice**), or individuals with their families (**privatim**), were guaranteed friendly reception, protection, and comity generally within the territories or at the houses of foreigners. This relation differed from *amicitia*, in that it did not imply any personal friendship. The words may be translated by *official and personal friendships*. — **Romae**: opposed to Ephesus.

3. **ea** (see Gr. 296. a): i.e. the building of the sanctuary at Rome. — **de quo**: i.e. the question answered in **caput rerum**, etc. — **fuerat**: see Gr. 495. N. — **id**: the same question referred to by **de quo**. — **omnium Latinorum**: opposed to **uni ex Sabinis**. — **cura**, etc.: 'dismissed from the minds of all the Latins,' a short-hand expression, in-

stead of 'dismissed from their minds by,' etc. — **se**: the emphasis anticipates the emphasis of **privato**. The artificial (perhaps rather artistic) order of the Latin enables it to express such shades of emphasis with extreme delicacy, and in this art Livy is a master. — **imperii recipiendi**: the same thing, under a varied aspect, as **de quo** and **id**.

4. **patri familiae**, *householder*; (avoid the ridiculous 'father of a family,' which in this passage is a stock school-jest). — **fixa**, etc.: a parenthetical remark illustrating the character of the creature. — **vestibulo**: this word, of most uncertain use and meaning, can here only refer to the prostyle, or portico, in front of the temple proper. — **templi**: of course at Rome. — **miraculo**: i.e. the marvellous size of the creature, which, as in all cases of extraordinary occurrences, was regarded as a *prodigium*, or direct indication of divine interposition; whence comes our use of *prodigy*.

5. **res**: i.e. the birth of the heifer

civis Dianae immolasset, ibi fore imperium, idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae; Sabinusque, 6 ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi, Sabinum ita adloquitur: 'Quidnam tu hospes paras?' inquit; 'inceste sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? Infima valle praefluit Tiberis.' Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio respon- 7 deret eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim; interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum pos- 46 sederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene

—*cecineret*: cf. 7. 10, and Virgil *passim*. — *cuius*: its antecedent is concealed in *ibi*. — *immolasset*: for future perfect of the direct discourse (school-boy lore, but very hard to learn). — *ibi*: *i.e. in ea (civitate)*; cf. 24. 2.

6. *Sabinusque*: by means of the *-que*, Livy jumps over the last digression, and attaches the rest of the story to 4. — *ibi, thereupon*. — *memor, reminded of*. — *responsi*: the same as *carmen* above. — *quidnam, why! what?* — *paras, are you going to do?* — *inceste, without purification*; the sacrifice would be ceremonially impure if he proceeded immediately from his secular occupations without ablution. — *tu*: not properly emphatic, but expressed from the fondness of the Latin for emphasized pronouns, especially in colloquial language. — *perfunderis, bathe*; a very common middle use of verbs of this sort. — *praefluit*: Livy often uses *prae* in composition instead of *prae*.

7. *religione, religious scruple*; a doubt whether he might not invalidate the sacrifice by something displeasing to the goddess. — *prodigio*: the birth of the heifer, and the sacrifice, if duly performed together, constituted, according to ancient religions, a kind of determination of fate, and all this taken together is meant by *prodigium*. The event was, according to our ideas, to conform to the prophecy, but as the prophecy is only an interpretation of the fate, Livy's words express exactly the ancient notion. — *cuperet*: see Gr. 535. *e*. — *facta*: see Gr. 497. *c. N*.

#### FALL OF SERVIUS.

46. *usu . . . possederat, had gained by prescription*, in allusion to the acquirement of rights in law by long use, whatever the original character of the possession. The idea is, 'although he had held the throne long enough to be secure in his right to it, yet he sought a for-

- Tarquinio audiebat, se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne se regnare, tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius
- 2 ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem adfectandi regni minuit; immo eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante.
- 3 Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset quod scelere partum foret.
- 4 Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquinius, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae, regis filiae, nupserant, et ipsae

mal vote of the people.' — **conciliata**, etc.: Livy doubtless has in his mind the later politics of the *leges agrariae*, for without this there was no doubt of the popular approval; cf. 42. 3. — **vellent iuberentne**: the regular form of beginning a *rogatio*; cf. XXII. 10. 2.

2. **neque**, and yet . . . not. — **impensius**: used as if *conatus* or *egit* were to follow. But in the course of the sentence the thought changes, as so often in Livy and indeed in Latin generally, and concludes in a different turn in **ratus est**. It must be remembered that the ancient style of writing was much nearer to the course of speech than our own conventionally restrained language. — **crescendi**: i.e. gaining influence and power. — **et ipse**, etc., *being at the same time himself*, etc.; **et**

. . . **uxore**, etc., and *having in his house his wife Tullia to stimulate*, etc.

3. **tulit**, there was produced in, etc., to give the proper emphasis. — **et**: i.e. as well as at Thebes, Mycenae, etc. — **tragici**: not merely as an epithet, *tragic*, but of the *tragic stage*. — **ut**, etc.: introduced as a kind of purpose of fate. — **ultimum**: i.e. the reign of Tarquin. Avoid in translation *the last which*, etc., for that has an entirely different meaning.

4. **pluribus**, etc., in accordance with; ablative absolute. — **ediderim**: see Gr. 447. 1. — **habuerat**: before the events of 9.

5. **ante**: see 42. 1. — **et ipsae**, who were likewise. — **ne . . . iungerentur**: the proper result clause after *inciderat* is changed into a

longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum, et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere quam cum impari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum quo digna esset dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adolescentem suae temeritatis implet. Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis

purpose of the divine will; so also we have a purpose clause in quo . . . esset.

6. *ferox Tullia*: not 'the fierce Tullia,' which is not a Latin form of expression, but '*being a violent woman*.' — *materiae*: used exactly as we use *stuff*. — *cupiditatem*, *ambition*, to conceive ambitious desires; *audaciam*, *daring*, to use the means to gratify such desires. — *mirari*: not merely 'admired,' but 'expressed her admiration for.' — *virum*: cf. 41. 3; so again in next line. — *muliebri*: opposed to *virum*, the feminine daring to correspond to her husband's.

7. *ut fere fit*, etc.: this clause, properly parenthetical, absorbs the main clause, *malum (est)*, etc., on account of the similar meanings of

*est* and *fit*. — *initium ortum*: cf. *Pref.* 12 n. — *viri*: after *sermonibus*, the usual construction in Latin between two nouns, whatever the relation in English. — *alieni*, *another's*. — *de viro ad fratrem*, *about (her) husband to (his) brother*. — *de sorore ad virum*, *about her sister to her (that sister's) husband*. In Latin the unnecessary words are left out. — *viduam*, *unmarried*; cf. 43. 9. — *futurum fuisse*: Gr. 589. *δ. 2.* — *elanguescendum esset*, *to be obliged to*, etc.

8. *visuram fuisse*: see Gr. 589. *δ. 2.* — *celeriter*: notice the emphasis. 'it does not take long,' or the like. — *temeritatis*: see Gr. 409. *a. N.*

9. *Lucius*: a necessary correction of the MSS., which have *Arruns*.

funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante.

- 17 Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent: non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet. 'Si tu is es cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minus, eo nunc peius mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est; di te penates patriique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen Tarquiniū creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustrariſ civitatem? Quid te ut regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinius aut Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior

47. tum vero: the important moment of the narrative, as usual. — ne gratuita: not merely her own purpose, but the thought she urges upon her husband.

2. diceretur: *i.e.* so called without really being such; she had had that before. — serviret: not to her husband, but to the ruling monarch.

3. istic, in you, whom I have now married.

4. quin accingeris: cf. *quin perfunderis*, 45. 6. — tibi: opposed to patri. — penates patriique: not different divinities, but the same in two relations as protecting the household and inherited from his

ancestors. — imago: as one of the insignia of nobility; cf. 34. 6. — regia: he is thought of as still living in the house of his ancestors, who were once kings.

5. ad haec: *i.e.* the endeavor to regain the regal power. — frustrariſ: *i.e.* by remaining here you excite the hopes of those who wish to be freed from the rule of Servius, but these hopes you disappoint. — regium, princely. — facesse, take yourself off; a colloquial word, used like *proficiscor*. — devolvere (a middle use; cf. *perfunderis*, 45. 6), sink back; strictly of rolling down a declivity.

quam patris.' His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, 6  
nec conquiescere ipsa potest si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina  
mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo ut duo continua  
regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio  
semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque  
regno faceret. *cf. Livy on examples of history*

His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire 7  
et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres, admonere  
paterni beneficii ac pro ea gratiam repetere, adlicere  
donis iuvenes, cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis  
criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo, ut iam 8  
agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armato-  
rum in forum inrupit. Inde omnibus perculsis pavore,  
in regia sede pro curia sedens, patres in curiam per  
praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Conve- 9  
nere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii metu,  
ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo atto-  
niti et iam de Servio actum rati.

6. his aliisque: cf. *omnibus*, 45. 1 n. — *increpando*: see Gr. 507 footn. — *ipsa*: opposing her ambition in reference to her own position and influence to her ambition on behalf of her husband. — *si . . . potuisset*: i.e. if this is to be the situation, as she conceives it in her mind, it gives her no peace. The subjunctives are used on account of the indirect discourse. — *peregrina*: opposed to *regio*, etc. — *momentum faceret*, *should have weight*.

7. *muliebribus*: merely because it is his wife's ambition and not his own; a little more vivid than *uxoris* would be. — *furiis*, *blind, mad passions*, as unreflecting and crazy, like the madness inspired by the Furies. — *circumire et prensare*, *go about and interview*, in the manner of the canvassing of later times.

In fact, the whole is probably drawn from Livy's own observation of Roman politics; cf. 35. 2. — *iuvenes*: sons of senators, not yet in the senate. — *regis*, *against the king*; cf. *viri*, 46. 7 n. — *crescere*: cf. *cre-scendi*, 46. 2 n.

8. *stipatus*, *escorted*; the regular word. — *in forum*: i.e. to the *comitium* and *curia*. — *inrupit*: implying haste and turbulence. — *regia sede*: cf. 41. 6. — *pro curia*, *in the front of the senate-house*; not outside, but so as to be visible from the outside (cf. 48. 1), like *pro muro*, *pro rostris*. — *regem*: he thus styles himself in the citation.

9. *praeparati*: i.e. some were in the plot. — *metu*: i.e. *metu impulsus*. — *non venisse*: i.e. that afterwards they might suffer for not having done so. — *novitate ac miraculo*,

10 Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus, ser-  
vum servaque natum, post mortem indignam parentis  
sui, non interregno, ut antea, inīto, non comitiis habitis,  
non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus,  
11 muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita crea-  
tum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo  
ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus  
12 agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae  
communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civi-  
tatis; instituisse census, ut insignis ad invidiam locu-  
pletiorum fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi vellet,  
egentissimis largiretur.

48 Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nun-  
tio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce  
'Quid hoc' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu audacia  
me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considerare  
2 mea?' Cum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris sui tenere  
sedem, multo quam servum potiozem filium regis regni  
heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insul-  
tasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur  
et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque reg-

*the strange and marvellous occurrence.*

10. *stirpe*: i.e. the origin. — *mortem indignam*, *shameful murder*, unworthy of his position and his acts. — *non interregno*, etc.: see 41. — *occupasse*, *had usurped*.

11. *ereptum*: in so far as it should have been assigned only to the patricians; here again Livy is undoubtedly thinking of later politics.

12. *onera*: see 42. 5 and 43. 9. — *insignis*, *a mark*, made conspicuous by being publicly recorded.

48. *huic orationi*: the position gives the force, 'while he was thus haranguing.' — *cum interve-*

*nisset*: in translation make this clause independent and break up the sentence. — *extemplo*: i.e. without waiting to get in. — *vestibulo*: cf. 45. 4 n. — *vocare . . . considerare*: both regal acts, a usurpation of regal power.

2. *ad haec*: sc. *diceret*. — *se*: the regular Latin emphasis on pronouns. — *servum*: see Gr. 583. c. — *potiozem*: with *heredem*. — *filium*: in apposition with *se*, taking the place of a new statement in the indirect discourse. — *per licentiam*: cf. *per speciem*, 3. 11 n. — *eludentem*: properly, making sport of something (cf

rum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate iam  
 in ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et  
 viris validior, medium arripit Servium elatumque e  
 a in inferiorem partem per gradus deiecit; inde ad  
 cogendum senatum in curiam rediit. Fit fuga regis ap-  
 paritorum atque comitum; ipse prope exsanguis, cum  
 in animis regio comitatu domum se reciperet pervenis-  
 setque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ab iis qui missi ab  
 Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant interficitur. Cre-  
 ditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tul-  
 lii id factum. Carpentum certe, id quod satis constat,  
 in domum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit  
 e curia regemque prima appellavit. A quo faces-  
 citur iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet,  
 pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium  
 templum fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum,  
 in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus  
 et inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat, iacentem-  
 dominam Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum

); here used absolutely, as  
 would colloquially, 'with his  
 s.' — *apparebat*, etc., *it be-  
 comes as if*, etc.; *i.e.* became  
 a question of force between the par-  
 ties of the two.

*aetate et viribus validior*,  
*stronger and stronger*. — *medium*,  
*middle of the body*. — *cogendum*:  
 apparitors may be supposed to  
 have left their seats.

*apparitorum*: the official at-  
 tendants; *comitum*: the partisans  
 following. — *Cyprium vicum*: cf.  
 s. 47, n.

*carpentum*: cf. 34. 8. — *certe*:  
 introducing the story in 6, of which  
 the beginning is really the beginning.  
*id constat*: opposed to cre-  
 ditur. — *reverita*: (see Gr. 491)

ordinarily it was not good form for  
 a woman to appear in assemblies  
 of men.

6. *domum*: she apparently lived  
 on the Esquiline. — *Dianium*: a  
 shrine of Diana, of which there  
 were several in the city. — *flectenti*:  
*sc. Tulliae*. — *Urbium*: probably  
 the same as *Virbium*, from Virbius,  
 a genius associated with Diana. —  
*Esquiliarum*: the same as *Esqui-  
 linum*. The word is formed like  
*angustiae, reliquiae*, apparently from  
 some derivative of *ex* and *colo*; cf.  
*inquilinus*. — *restitit*: the order is  
 forced, but intended to emphasize  
 the sudden effect upon the driver.  
 — *iacentem*: the order shows  
 again the same straining after ef-  
 fect as in the case just noticed.

inhumanumque inde traditur scelus monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo contaminata ipsa respersaque tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequerentur.

- 8 Servius Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna  
9 occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitante intervenisset.

7. *inde, thereupon*, as often. The word really belongs to *factum esse* or the like implied in *traditur scelus*. — *agitantibus*, etc.: explaining *amens*, in accordance with the ancient idea of the Furies driving to madness the guilty criminal, an idea embodied in the actual pursuit by these goddesses so often represented on the stage and in art. Naturally such madness leads to new crimes. — *sororis et viri*: see 46. 7 n. The genitive is the regular way of expressing the relation between the avenging deities and the person avenged. — *egisse*: as in all languages, *qui facit per alium facit per se*; cf. *flectenti* above. — *sanguinis ac caedis paternae*, *the blood of her murdered father*. The Latin can say, 'the blood and (by consequence) the murder of her father,' a mixture of concrete and abstract which would be harsh in English. — *contaminata*, etc.: a chiasmic reference to *sanguinis* and *caedis*. — *tulisse*: here the order is

effective without being forced; the sanctity of the household hearth is still more violated by the actual contact of the crime. — *quibus iratis*, *from whose wrath*. — *malo*, *that ill-starred*. — *sequerentur*: it is unnecessary to go farther for the subjunctive than the indirect discourse.

8. *bono*, etc.: the order makes an argument *a fortiori*, — 'much less to the king who did succeed.' — *iusta ac legitima*: rather an exaggeration, but the reign as approved by the people is regarded as legitimate. From now on the rule became a tyranny.

9. *id ipsum, and even that*. — *tamen*: opposed to the 'although' implied in the preceding adjectives. — *unius*: as opposed to the commonwealth. — *ni . . . intervenisset*: protasis to *deposuisset* implied in *in animo habuisse*, etc., a construction quite admissible in English as well. — *intestinum*: *i.e.* in his own family, opposed to *patriae*.

Inde L. Tarquinius regnare ocepit, cui Superbo co  
gnomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura  
prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans,  
primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebant,  
interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se  
ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus  
circumsaepsit; neque enim ad ius regni quicquam prae-  
ter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu neque aucto-  
ribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat ut in caritate  
civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum es-  
set. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium  
rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam  
causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat  
non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud  
quam praedam sperare posset.

Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos

#### REIGN OF LUCIUS TARQUIN.

49. regnare: an extension of the complementary infinitive; cf. 7. 6 n. — Superbo (see Gr. 373. a): the order gives a force like, 'who received the name, etc., a name given him on account of his acts.' The word indicates an arrogant disregard of others' rights. — quia, in that. — socerum gener: the Latin likes to bring out ideas sharply by such antitheses, where we should omit the appositive. — sepultura: see Gr. 401.

2. rebus, the interests. — male, by foul means. — exemplum, a precedent.

3. ad, in respect to; properly, in the direction of. — vim: i.e. the violent usurpation of power, which, though having no element of right, properly speaking, yet made him a king de facto, and so ostensibly entitled to rule. — ut qui: see Gr. 535. c. N. 1.

4. nihil spei reponenti, having no confidence based. — ut . . . esset: the more common construction with accedere is quod, but here the state of things is conceived as a result. — spei: his own hope; metu: his subjects' fear; such close juxtaposition of two ideas from different points of view is allowed by the ancients, though we are a little more squeamish. — cognitiones, trials, not strictly in the English sense, but, in accordance with European law, more like an inquisition. — capitalium: not strictly capital, but affecting the caput, the civil as well as physical life of the citizen. — consiliis, judges, boards of councillors from the senate to advise the king, which our own courts were once in theory.

5. per eam causam, under this pretext. — unde: i.e. a quibus.

6. praecipue ita, by this means more than any other.

- in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo  
 7 esset minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim  
 regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus  
 senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem pub-  
 licam administravit, bellum pacem foedera societates  
 per se ipse cum quibus voluit iniussu populi ac senatus  
 fecit diremitque.
- 8 Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut pere-  
 grinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hos-  
 pitia modo cum primoribus eorum, sed adfinitates quoque  
 9 iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano — is longe prin-  
 ceptus Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Vluxe  
 deaque Circa oriundus —, ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat  
 perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius  
 conciliat.
- 50 Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum pro-  
 ceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae  
 conveniant indicit; esse quae agere de rebus communi-  
 2 bus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce. Ipse  
 Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam  
 sol occideret venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis  
 3 iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia

7. *domesticis*: of his own house-  
 hold, as opposed to the prominent  
 men of the state. — *ipse*: see Gr.  
 298. *f.* — *iniussu* . . . *senatus*: an  
 inexact shorthand expression, for  
 the senate had only an *auctoritas*.

#### MURMURINGS AGAINST THE TYRANNY.

50. *cum* . . . *indicit*: see Gr.  
 546. *a.* — *in diem*: a common for-  
 mula for such proclamations, oftener  
 with a noun expressing the kind of  
 meeting, for which the *ut* clause is  
 here substituted. — *lucum Feren-*  
*tinae*: a grove and spring north of

the Alban Lake, a meeting-place  
 of the Latin confederation; cf. the  
 similar place mentioned in 30. 5. —  
*communibus*: *i.e.* affecting the  
 Romans and Latins.

2. *frequentes*: *i.e.* the Latins.  
 — *servavit*: *i.e.* did not entirely  
 neglect it, to be sure, but came  
 late, — an insulting act of arro-  
 gance. — *sol occideret*: the regu-  
 lar limit of time for business. —  
*sermonibus*: conversation before  
 the meeting could come to order.

3. *ab Aricia*: a construction less  
 common than the adjective, but  
 not unknown to Caesar and Cicero.

in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: haud  
esse Superbo ei inditum cognomen — iam enim  
quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen, eum appella-  
; an quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic  
omen Latinum, principibus longe a domo excitis  
qui concilium indixerit, non adesse? Temptari  
patientiam, ut, si iugum acceperint, obnoxios

Cui enim non apparere, adfectare eum impe-  
Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint cives

reditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit, cre-  
Latinos, quamquam ne sic quidem alienigenae,

sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe qui alii super  
acidentur, exsulatum eant, amittant bona, quid  
elioris Latinis portendi? si se audiant, domum  
quemque inde abituros neque magis observaturos  
ncilii quam ipse qui indixerit observet.

atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facino-  
e homo iisque artibus opes domi nactus cum

by this name. — clam,  
though not openly, yet  
— an, etc.: (was he not  
saying what he had) or,  
ficari, be mocked, as they  
arquin's setting a day and  
g.

se: depending again on  
verb of saying (implied).  
uri: the emphasis gives  
se 'what he was aiming  
try their patience, to see  
uld bear this insult;' cf.  
noxios: i.e. if he found  
missive and in his power.  
re: see Gr. 586.

sc. imperium. — sui:  
b; here referring to the  
— bene: i.e. had done  
ntrusting. — aut: intro-  
ind of correction or am-  
of the foregoing. — cre-

ditum, trusted (at all). — et non,  
and not, rather. — Latinos: op-  
posed to cives sui. — quamquam:  
correctivum. — sic, in that case. —  
alienigenae: i.e. as Tarquin was.  
— debere: the protases of this  
apodosis, though put as simple  
conditions (changed to subjunctive  
in indirect discourse), are really  
ironical, and leave their contraries  
to be implied.

6. sin, etc.: the real state of  
the case. — se: see Gr. 300. 2. —  
audiant: representing a colloquial  
present for future time; Gr. 468.  
— quemque . . . abituros: see  
Gr. 317. e.

7. seditiosus: as if the Latins  
were subject to Rome, as they  
were in later times. — facinoro-  
sus: hardly more than, daring;  
properly, 'ready for violent and

- 8 maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum, qui, silentio facto, monitus a proximis ut purgaret se quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse et, quia ea res exemisset illum diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim nullam breviorum esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.
- 51 Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corruptit, ut in deversorium eius vim magnam gladi-

lawless action.' — *cum maxime*, just when; for mood, see Gr. 546. The whole sentence, with Latin compression, contains two statements, 'Thus,' etc., 'did the man harangue, being (to account for his action) a man who,' etc., 'and just as,' etc., 'Tarquin came in.'

8. *is*, that (his coming); see Gr. 296. *a.* — *silentio*: i.e. by proclamation. — *proximis*: who had been present. — *id temporis*: see Gr. 397. *a.* — *disceptatorem*, an arbiter, in a private capacity.

9. *id*, with that; obj. of *tulisse*. — *tulisse*, etc., he (i.e. Tarquin) got off without reproach; a colloquial use of *ferre*, as in the comedy. — *dixisse*: i.e. Turnus, with the Livian careless change of subject. —

*cognitionem*: cf. 49. 4. — *quam inter*, etc., than that between, etc., in accordance with the English idiom. — *verbis*: i.e. the following, which would be the judgment. — *pareat*: cf. *audiant* in 6. — *habiturum infortunium*: a pregnant expression like the English 'come to grief'; cf. *malum habere*. The *patria potestas* was unlimited.

#### RUIN AND DEATH OF TURNUS.

51. *quam videbatur*, than he showed.

2. *pro imperio*, by virtue of his authority, as a Roman could have been. — *per*: see Gr. 405. *b.* — *deversorium*: i.e. the place where he lodged while attending the council.

orum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta 3  
essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitis ad se prin-  
cipibus Latinorum quasi re nova perturbatus, moram  
suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia  
inlatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno 4  
dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Lati-  
norum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse  
hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse quod auctor  
concilii afuerit, quem maxime peteret. Inde illam ab 5  
sentis insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem  
destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin  
prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum  
coniuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gla- 6  
diorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum. Id  
vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse: rogare eos ut  
inde secum ad Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem 7  
et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tar-  
quinii, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse.  
Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi  
gladiis prehensis cetera vana existimaturi.

Vbi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum cir- 8  
cumsistunt custodes, comprehensisque servis, qui cari-

3. *una*: the promptness and success of Tarquin's plans make it impossible for Turnus to protect himself. — *principibus*: not the entire *concilium* in formal assembly; cf. *concilium* in 8.

4. *dici*, he had heard. — *adgressurum fuisse* (Gr. 589. b): the condition is left to be inferred from the following ('if he had been there,' or the like). — *auctor*, the summoner, the person under whose authority the council was convened.

5. *inde*: referring forward to *quod*. — *si vera deferantur*: *i.e.*

if the information laid before him was true.

6. *dici*, that it was said; emphasized to waive all knowledge of the facts on his own part. — *vanum*, false, an empty rumor. — *rogare*: still in indirect discourse. — *ad Turnum*: to his house, as often.

7. *suspectam*, etc., the matter seemed suspicious; *i.e.* the charge likely to be true. — *videbatur*, it seemed likely that, etc. — *inclinatis*, etc.: *i.e.* they were disposed to believe, to be sure, but ready to reject the story if the facts should fail to confirm it.

- tate domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enim vero manifesta res visa iniectaeque Turno catenae, et confestim Latinorum  
 9 concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa novo genere leti deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.
- 52 Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius conlaudatisque qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto  
 2 parricidio merita poena adfecissent, ita verba fecit: posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in Romanum  
 3 cesserit imperium; ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas

8. *abditi*: by the agents of Tarquin. — *ex omnibus locis*, from every corner. — *deverticuli*: cf. *deversorium* in 2. — *enim vero*, really, expressing the thought as it occurred to the minds of the council. — *manifesta*, caught in the act. In such cases a more summary form of procedure was practised in ancient times than in other cases. — *tumultu*, excitement.

9. *in medio positis*: i.e. brought into the assembly and displayed. — *indicta causa*: i.e. without allowing him to plead his cause, without trial; see 52. 5 n. — *novo*: this was not in use among the Romans, but was not unknown to other nations; cf. Tac. *Ger.* 12.

#### FURTHER SUBJECTION OF THE LATINS.

52. *revocatis*: i.e. from the summary punishment of Turnus.

The order here gives a force precisely equivalent to the English participle in agreement, 'Having,' etc. — *parricidio*: inasmuch as the attempt with which he was charged included the murder of the king and others. — *adfecissent*: see Gr. 592. 3.

2. *posse quidem*, etc.: notice the emphasis, *I MIGHT (said he)* . . . but. — *agere*: i.e. proceed as if Rome had the *imperium* over all the Latins. — *oriundi*: and hence as colonies subject to the treaties of the mother country Alba. — *ab Tullo*, from the time of, etc.

3. *utilitatis*: depending on *causa*. — *id*: referring to the *ut* clause; see Gr. 390. c, and 563. — *censere*: in its technical sense of giving an opinion, as in the senate. — *renovetur*: emphatic, as opposed to *vetusto iure*. — *secunda*: opposed to *excidia*, etc.

Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante perpassi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiantur.

Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo 4  
foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita  
nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant et  
Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens  
erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque 5  
iunioribus Latinorum ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum  
Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad 6  
edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne  
ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa  
haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut  
ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita gemi-  
natis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

Nec, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; 53  
quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum

4. *quamquam*, etc.: *i.e.* though they saw it would be an unequal alliance, yet the reasons given determined them.—*adversatus esset*: in a kind of indirect discourse (following the idea of warning in *documentum*) for a future perfect of the direct. For the apodosis, see Gr. 592. 2.

5. *indictum*: the beginner must carefully distinguish between the participle compounded with *in* negative, and the verb with its participle compounded with *in*.

6. *secretum*, *separate*, its proper meaning. Ordinarily such troops would act as allies independently under their own commanders; cf. 27.—*manipulos*: there is much confusion about the earlier organization of the Roman army. The maniples are said (VIII. 8. 3) to have been made much later, and are not mentioned in II. 64. 10, though they may possibly be supposed; but Livy

had no distinct idea of details, nor care for them, except as they are picturesque, and so conceives the army as it was in later times, which, after all, is just as well, for the *maniple*, in some form or other, must have belonged to the earliest organization.—*ex binis*, etc.: 'making two out of one and one out of two' could only be done by taking half of each and putting them together, in which sense they could be said to be doubled (*geminatis*).—*centuriones*: two, as the *maniple* was composed of two centuries.

WAR WITH THE VOLSCI AND WITH GABII.

53. *nec*, and yet . . . not.—*ut . . . ita*, though . . . still, as often.—*arte*: cf. *artibus*, 39. 4; it does not mean the art of war, but the qualities which made him a good commander.—*degeneratum*: see Gr.

- 2 in aliis huic quoque decori officisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos  
 3 movit Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Vbi cum divendita praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.
- 4 Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios propinquam urbem nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo,  
 5 adgressus est. Nam cum, velut posito bello, fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum

497. The noun which would agree with the participle disappears, because the verb is used impersonally in the passive: 'the fact that he was degenerate,' etc. The construction is founded deep in the genius of the language, but does not come to the surface generally till after Cicero. — *aliis*: cf. *omnibus*, 45. 1 n. — *huic quoque*, etc.: other fine points were not strictly cast into the shade (*officisset*), because he did not have them, but loosely it may be said that they did not appear, and the same is true (for another reason) of this one.

2. in *ducentos*: *i.e.* he began the war which was to last, etc. — *ex his*: not exactly 'from them,' but 'of their territory.'

3. *talenta*: as he is copying from Greek sources, Livy uses Greek sums. — *refecisset*: *i.e.* taken in, made out; a common force of *re-*; cf. *redigo*. — *concepit animo*, *conceived the design of*; emphatic, because it was not built till long afterwards. — *esset*: expressing his purpose; which should be.

4. *excepit, engaged his attention*; a common and not unnatural use of *excipio* for anything that comes on or happens next after something else. — *lentius*, *more prolonged*; the war dragged, and was not so soon decided as he had hoped. — *spe*: see Gr. 406. a. — *propinquam*: about a dozen miles off. — *vi*: *i.e.* first he tried assault, which failed. — *obsidendi quoque*: the next process, of siege, was also hopeless, inasmuch as his forces were driven from their position around the city (*a moenibus*). — *minime . . . Romana*: a patriotic sentiment not at all uncommon in all times; cf. 'British fair play,' with about as much truth. In general, however, the Roman vices were those of the strong rather than of the weak. — *fraude ac dolo*: *i.e.* a stratagem founded on deceit.

5. *posito*, *having abandoned*, from the idea of laying down a thing. — *templi*: the temple of Jove; see 3. — *iaciendis*: the regular word for 'laying' foundations, doubtless on account of the use of

se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens. Iam ab alienis in 6 suos vertisse superbiam et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris 7 elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquini credidisse. Nam, ne errarent, manere iis bellum quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus 8 locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volscosque se inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad 9 bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum.

Cum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro inde abi- 10

rubble for the lowest base.—**operibus**: public buildings and the like.

6. **iam**: *i.e.* he had got to that point; a common use of the word.—**vertisse**: *sc.* his father.—**liberorum quoque**: as he had before of the senate, etc.—**ut, ne, ne**: depending on the general idea of killing implied in the preceding.

7. **se**: opposed to the others.—**elapsum**: *i.e.* had succeeded in escaping, to be sure, but had no confidence anywhere but with his father's enemies.—**nam**: explaining **hostes**; they were still such, although the war seemed abandoned.—**ne errarent**: the purpose of his following statement; see Gr. 532.

8. **inde**: *i.e.* going from one to the other till he found a refuge.—**impiis**: the word *pious* applies to

the relation of parents to children, as well as the converse.—**tegere**: see Gr. 456.

9. **ardoris**, etc.: *i.e.* besides the mere willingness to succor the helpless, he might find some zeal for war as well,—intimating that he could be of advantage to them by the spirit which he would bring and the skill in fighting.—**superbissimum**, etc.: these words serve to hint at the need of some assistance against the kind of foes they had to deal with.

10. **morarentur**: properly with *eum* for its object, but with the figurative sense of *moror* partially present, 'if they didn't care,' or 'choose to take up the case.' The mood stands for the future indicative of the direct.—**porro inde**, *further on his way*, according to his

turus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo saevitum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse futurumque credere brevi, ut, illo adiuvante, a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

54 Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Vbi cum de aliis rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem 2 potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis juvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana accresceret fides, 3 dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum, inscia multitudine quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarqui-

statement before. — **vetant**: simply representing the imperative of their address. 'Do not be surprised,' they said. — **si . . . esset**: see Gr. 572. b. N. The mood is occasioned by the indirect discourse. — **in cives**: see 49. 5; **socios**: see 51.

11. **sibi**: see Gr. 598. l.

#### PLOT OF SEXTUS AND CAPTURE OF GABII.

54. **in consilia publica**: used particularly of the senate, which is often called the *publicum consilium*. — **adhiberi**: historical infinitive. — **aliis**: other than the relations with Rome. — **adsentire**: older form instead of *adsentiri*. — **veteribus**: as opposed to himself, a new-comer. —

**identidem**: *i.e.* as occasion offered. — **esse**: hist. inf. — **nosset, sciret**: notice the difference in meaning and use. — **regiam**, of the king.

2. **rebellandum**: in its proper sense of renewing the war. — **praedatum**: in consequence of its original nature as an accusative, the supine is constantly co-ordinated with a noun and preposition, as here. — **vana**, false and idle.

3. **multitudine**: the civilians, through whose influence his fame at home increased (**certatim credere**). — **quid ageretur**: *i.e.* what Sextus was about. — **proelia**, etc.: *i.e.* their success made the Gabini think Sextus a leader sent from heaven.

nium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud 4  
milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam  
munifice largiendo, tanta caritate esse ut non pater Tar-  
quinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset.

Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes co- 5  
natus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad  
patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem  
ut omnia unus Gabiis posset ei dii dedissent. Huic 6  
nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce  
responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hortum  
aedium transit sequenti nuntio filii; ibi inambulans  
tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decus-  
sisse. Interrogando expectandoque responsum nuntius 7  
fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse  
quaeque viderit refert: seu ira seu odio seu superbia  
insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi 8  
quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus  
patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud populum,  
alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit. Multi pa-  
lam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat  
futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus 9

4. *milites*: the soldiers in the field, as opposed to the civilians. — *pariter*, *alike*; the two show different kinds of qualities. — *praedam*: it rested with the general how the booty should be disposed of, whether given to the soldiers or sold for the state.

5. *videbat*: for mood, see Gr. 543. a. — *unum*: hardly differing here from *quendam*. — *sciscitatum*, etc.: see Gr. 428. j. — *ei*: one would expect *sibi* representing a *mihî* in the words of Sextus. It is probably put into this form to avoid the apparent arrogance of *mihî*. Too much boasting was an-

ciently supposed to draw down the anger of the gods.

6. *voce*, in words.

7. *ut re imperfecta*: cf. *ut re confecta*, Cæs. B. C. II. 13. 2.

8. *ambagibus*, *intimations*, roundabout hints instead of a direct answer. — *criminando*: *i.e.* by false charges of treason. — *invidia*: the odium which they had previously incurred. Both these things are means of putting them to death, though in a somewhat different sense.

9. *patuit*: *i.e.* they were allowed to fly. — *volentibus*: cf. Gr. 378. 2. N.; translate with *fuga*, *voluntary*

fuga aut in exsilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona iuxta  
 10 atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde  
 praedaeque et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malo-  
 rum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque  
 Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum  
 traditur.

- 55 Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequeorum  
 gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit, inde ad nego-  
 tia urbana animum convertit. Quorum erat primum, ut  
 Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui  
 nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinius reges ambos, patrem  
 2 vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religio-  
 nibus area esset tota Iovis templique eius quod inaedifi-  
 caretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot  
 ibi a T. Tatius rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus  
 Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea  
 3 fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse

*fright*. — *iuxta atque*, *equally with*,  
 or *and . . . alike*. — *divisui*: *i.e.* a  
 fund for distribution, but the Latin  
 is more abstract.

10. *largitiones*: *i.e.* what he  
 distributed; *praedae*: *i.e.* what he  
 and his minions secured for them-  
 selves. — *privati*: in the case of  
 those who were enriched. — *in*  
*manum*: *i.e. in dicionem*, which is  
 more common.

#### IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITY.

55. *receptis*: cf. *refecisset*, 53.  
 3 and note. — *ut*: depending on  
*negotium* (supplied with *primum*).  
 Livy has in his mind the effort and  
 plan (cf. *animum convertit*); hence  
 an object clause is natural. — *Iovis*:  
 there were chapels (as it were) also  
 to Juno and Minerva, but only as  
*associated with Jupiter*. — *Tarqui-*  
*nios*, etc.: the facts of which the

temple would be a memorial. —  
*reges*: put in, like a later Roman's  
 titles, as a distinction.

2. *religionibus*, *religious claims*,  
 of other gods who might have  
 shrines there (*fana*, *sacella*). —  
*exaugurare*, *unconsecrate*, by cere-  
 monies similar to those by which  
 they had first been consecrated, for  
 the pleasure of the gods must be  
 asked by augurs. — *fana*, *sacella*:  
 not distinctly different, but appar-  
 ently a *sacellum* had an altar; a  
*fanum* not necessarily. — *quae*  
*aliquot*, *several of which*; see Gr.  
 346. e. — *discrimine*: see 13, where,  
 however, the vow is not mentioned;  
 it is probably inferred from the  
 existence of the shrines; cf. Varro,  
*L. L. V. 74*.

3. *movisse numen*: this odd  
 expression gives the idea that the  
 gods took the trouble, *set them*

numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos; nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere. Idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unumque cum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est: caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse. Quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat, idque ita cecinere vates quique in urbe erant quosque ad eam rem consulendam ex Etruria acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinae manubiae, quae perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim, quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadraginta milia pondo

selves to work. Ordinarily their divine powers would lie dormant unless called forth by some special occasion, but here they made an extraordinary effort. — *omnium*: i.e. all the others. — *admitterent*: i.e. by the signs given in the auspices. — *Termini*: the god of boundaries, worshipped in the form of a stone.

4. *non motam*, etc.: cf. *degeneratum*, 53. 1 n. — *sibi*: the reflexive is used because the god himself is the real subject; Terminus does not leave the place fixed for *him*, and indicates thereby, etc. — *cuncta*: i.e. the whole realm, as symbolized by its boundaries.

5. *integra facie*, with its features perfect, not impaired by decay.

6. *haud per ambages*, with no uncertain sign. — *eam*: agreeing

with the predicate, as usual (Gr. 296. a); best translated *here*. — *caput rerum*, the capital of the world. — *ita*: i.e. in this sense, in explaining the prodigies. — *quique*: i.e. *et qui*.

7. *augebatur*: i.e. by the favorable omens. — *Pometinae*: see 53. 2. — *suppeditavere*: i.e. because, on the strength of the omens, the king had made the foundations more elaborate.

8. *Fabio*: Fabius Pictor, the great early Roman historian; see 44. 2. — *praeterquam quod*: i.e. from the reason of the thing, beside the fact that Fabius is the earlier authority. — *ea*: i.e. the manubiae of Pometia.

9. *Pisoni*: see Intr. 6. — *quadraginta milia pondo*: as the talent was about 80 Roman pounds, the

argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandam et nullius ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

- 56 Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruria accitis, non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui cum haud parvus et ipse militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur
- 2 se templa deum exaedificare manibus suis quam postquam et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto maioris, traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam, quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia quicquam adaequare
- 3 potuit. His laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra marique.

first sum would be 3200 pounds, as against 40,000. The discrepancy has been explained by supposing Fabius to have counted only the king's tenth (40) of the 400 talents, and that these talents were reckoned by Piso as 100 pounds each. This seems less likely than that it is a natural later exaggeration made at a time when the small sum had come to seem insignificant. — *summam*: in apposition with *milia*. — *exsuperaturam*: Gr. 499. 1.

#### FURTHER BUILDING. VISIT TO DELPHI.

56. *ex Etruria*: the temple was built in the Etruscan style. — *operis*. *workmen*; *i.e.* in enforced labor. — *et ipse*, of itself, no less than

the military service which they had beside.

2. *ut ... sic*: cf. *ut ... ita*, 53. 1. — *foros ... faciendos*: in apposition with *opera*; see Gr. 503. *a. n. 2*: for *foros* see 35. 8 n. — *cloacam*: the great sewer still in existence.

3. *exercita*: *i.e.* after they had been used in this way, and as a kind of reward for their services, inasmuch as such colonists received land. — *et urbi*, etc.: the two reasons of the king, — it was good for the city at home, and they needed colonies abroad. — *usus non esset*: *i.e.* there was no use for them, nothing for them to do any more, and so the poorer were a burden to maintain. — *terra*: by *Signia*; *mari*: by *Circeii*.

Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex 4  
columna lignea elapsus cum terrorem fugamque in regia  
fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit  
pectus quam anxii implevit curis. Itaque cum ad 5  
publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc  
velut domestico exterritus visu Delphos ad maxime in-  
clitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit. Neque re- 6  
sponsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per  
ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Grae-  
ciam misit. Titus et Arruns profecti. Comes iis addi- 7  
tus L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinia, sorore regis, natus,  
iuvenis longe alius ingenio quam cuius simulationem  
induerat. Is cum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem  
suum ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo  
suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna <sup>dispositio</sup> con-  
cupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus  
esse ubi in iure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex in- 8  
dustria factus ad imitationem stultitiae cum se sua-  
que praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnu-  
it cognomen, ut sub eius obtentu cognominis liberator ille

4. *non tam*, etc.: not so much alarmed, like the others, by the mere appearance of the creature, as troubled by the doubt as to what the omen portended.

5. *Delphos*: as a higher authority.

6. *responsa*: of course after they should be given. — *sortium*: the word, from meaning the billets of wood on which Italian oracles were written, comes to mean the oracle itself. — *ausus*: it was important to keep such a matter secret. — *ignotas*: though the Romans had long been familiar with Greeks, yet they themselves had little to do with the actual course of commerce itself, so that to them Livy may say, with-

out much exaggeration, *utterly unknown*.

7. *ingenio*: ablative of specification. — *cuius*: *i.e. is iuvenis cuius*. — *induerat*: the figure is derived from a mask or costume, but is a little forced. — *in quibus*, and *among them*. — *animo*: not merely his wits, which he allowed to be considered dull, but his spirit or ambition, in which he seemed to have no aspirations, allowing himself to be treated as a fool. — *fortuna*, *his possessions*.

8. *factus, forming himself*. — *se*: referring to *animo*, as explained above. — *sua*: referring to *fortuna*. — *Bruti, the Dullard*. For the case, see Gr. 343. *d.* — *ille* . . .

- populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua.
- 9 Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui.
- 10 Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis, cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi ad quem eorum regnum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: 'Imperium summum Romae habebit qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit.'
- 11 Tarquinius Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ut ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri iubent, ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redisset,
- 12 matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater
- 13 omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.
- 57 Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate, divitiis præpollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum præda delenire popularium animos studebat, præter aliam superbiam regno

*animus, that great soul.* in Latin the soul is not identified with the man so much as in English, but nearly the same effect is produced.

9. *ludibrium, a butt.* — *per ambages:* cf. 54. 8 and 55. 6. — *effigiem, a symbol, or emblem,* as we should call it; the Latin is more simple and direct.

10. *quem:* instead of the more regular *utrum;* cf. 6. 4. Brutus is not really included in the question, though his presence may have

occasioned the use of *quem;* but he is in the answer.

11. *Sextus:* the other brother. — *expers, without a chance;* properly, without a share.

12. *alio . . . spectare, looked in another direction;* i.e. meant something entirely different. — *scilicet, doubtless, naturally.*

#### THE YOUNG PRINCES IN CAMP BEFORE ARDEA.

57. *Ardeam:* cf. Virg. *Aen.* VII. 409. — *ut in, for;* cf. 18. 1 n.

infestos etiam quod se in fabrorum ministerio ac servili  
tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata  
res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Vbi id pa-  
rum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi  
hostes. In stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello,  
satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis  
quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium  
conviviis comissionibusque inter se terebant.

Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinius, ubi et  
Collatinus cenabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de  
uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis.  
Inde certamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus  
esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris  
praestet Lucretia sua. 'Quin, si vigor iuventae inest,  
conscindimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum  
ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod necopinato  
viri adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant vino. 'Age  
sane!' omnes.

Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se  
intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Col-  
latiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus,

2. *praeter*, to say nothing of.—*habitos*, etc.: this was also an act of *superbia*.

3. *si*: see Gr. 576. a.—*obsidione*: cf. 53. 4.

4. *stativis*: i.e. the encampment made necessary by the siege.—*ut fit*, as is usual.—*commeatus*, *fur-loughs*; properly, going to and fro.

5. *regii*: i.e. in their case discipline was even so much relaxed, etc.; an exaggerated example of the case of the *primores*.—*conviviis*: the banquet proper; *comissionibus*: the after-revels, in which the young men roamed about from one place to another, carousing.

6. *potantibus*: may be either dative or ablative.

7. *id quidem*: with a force like 'why, that you can see for yourselves.'—*cuique*: usually in the relative clause, but here introduced sooner for emphasis; cf. Gr. 313. a.—*spectatissimum*, the surest proof; properly, the thing proved.

8. *incaluerant*: and hence were ready to adopt the wild suggestion.—*age sane*, well, come on. The singular imperative is used colloquially as an interjection. The short sentences vividly portray the swift execution of the plan; cf. Ovid's description, *Fast.* II. 733.

- quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantēs ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt.
- 10 Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniiq̄ue excepti benigne, victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinius mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum
- 11 forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.
- 58 Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inscio Collatino cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Vbi exceptus benigne ab ignaris consilii cum post cenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitque omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, 'Tace, Lucretia' inquit; 'Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem.'
- 3 Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, (versare in omnes partes
- 4 muliebrem animum. Vbi obstinatum videbat et ne

9. *convivio*: i.e. they were still indulging themselves at dinner. — *nocte sera*: indicating a greater diligence. — *lanae*: spinning and weaving, the regular occupations of the thrifty housewife. Cf. the epigraph of a Roman lady: *domum servavit, lanam fecit*. — *lucubrantēs*: working by lamplight; a continuation of the same idea as in *nocte sera*. — *in medio aedium*: in the atrium, the great hall, not the splendid and luxurious dining-rooms like the others.

10. *muliebris* (Gr. 343. a): one would expect *certaminis* to be first, but the present order is occa-

sioned by the contrast with the men (cf. Gr. 598. l). — *victor*: the emphasis serves to explain *comiter invitat*.

11. *tum quidem*: as opposed to the later visit of Sextus.

#### THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA.

58. 2. *circa*: equivalent to a noun; Livy inelegantly uses 'around' for 'the things which are around,' — a use for which the way is prepared by the use of adverbs for adjectives; cf. *omnia circa*, and see Gr. 321. d.

3. *versare*, etc., *ply her with every appeal to the feminine mind*;

s quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus :  
 mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut  
 in dido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum  
 et obstinatum pudicitiam (velut victrix libido) pro-  
 que inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muli-  
 sset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam  
 ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum  
 lis fidelibus amicis veniant : ita facto maturatoque  
 esse, rem atrocem incidisse.

arius Lucretius cum P. Valerio, Volesi filio, Colla- 6  
 cum L. Iunio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam  
 as ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam  
 tem maestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suo- 7  
 lacrimae obortae, quaerentique viro 'Satin salve?'  
 me' inquit; 'quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa  
 itia? vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt  
 Ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus in-  
 mps testis erit. Sed date dextras fidemque, haud  
 ne adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius qui, hostis 8  
 ospite, priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibique, si vos  
 stis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.' Dant or- 9  
 omnes fidem, consolantur aegram animi avertendo  
 n ab coacta in auctorem delicti: mentem peccare,  
 corpus, et, unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse.

y, turn her mind in all direc-  
 o look at arguments from all

ordido: as being committed  
 man of low estate.

to terrore: cf. *hac fiducia*,  
 .—velut: because the vic-  
 is not a real one.—ferox,  
 z, as often.—nuntium, mes-  
 facto: see Gr. 497. a.

antio, messenger.

atin: colloquial form for sa-  
 Gr. 12. a. 3, and 15. 7). The

word implies a slight doubt natural  
 under the circumstances. — *salve*:  
*sc. agis or res se habent*. The omis-  
 sion of the verb is regular in this  
 colloquial expression, equivalent to  
*Does all go well?* — *testis*: i.e. that I  
 speak the truth. — *impune*: adverb,  
 as in the phrases *bene esse, male*  
*esse*, and the like.

8. *sibique*: conditioned by the  
 following clause.

9. *ordine, in turn*. — *aegram*  
*animi*: cf. *incertus animi*, 7. 6.

- 10 'Vos' inquit 'videritis quid illi debeatur; ego me, etsi peccato absolvere, supplicio non libero nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit prolapsaque
- 12 in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.
- 59 Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum manantem cruore prae se tenens 'Per hunc' inquit 'castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim, exsecuturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum.' Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Vt praeceptum erat iurant, totique ab luctu versi in iram Brutum, iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem, sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines.
- 4 Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet

10. **vos videritis**: her gentle answer to their consolation. She says it is for them to determine his guilt and its punishment; for her own case she decides herself, and refuses their excuses.

11. **cultrum**: the emphasis gives the force, 'she takes a knife which,' etc., 'and plunges it,' etc.

12. **conclamat**, etc.: according to the regular custom; cf. 41. 6 and the death of Dido, Virg. *Aen.* IV. 665 seq.

#### THE AVENGING OF LUCRETIA.

59. **exsecuturum**: not elsewhere used in this sense with a personal object.

2. **tradit**: thus calling upon them

to take the same oath.—**unde**: the idea of questioning is implied in **stupentibus**; 'they could not make out.'—**novum**: as it contradicted his whole previous character; see note on *animo*, 56. 7. It was not so much a change of intellect as of spirit.—**ingenium**: sc. *esset*, but see Gr. 319. b, 4th example.—**toti**: see Gr. 290.—**iam inde**, from that moment.

3. **elatum**: the technical word for the carrying out of the body.—**miraculo**: cf. 47. 9 and also 7. 8.—**indignitate**, the shameful nature.—**pro se**: not merely joining in the cry, but themselves moved, each independently.

4. **movet** (emph.): 'what affected

patris maestitia tum Brutus castigat<sup>reproach</sup> lacrimarum  
 inertium querellarum auctorque, quod viros, quod  
 nos deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos.  
 mississimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius 5  
 sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde parte praesidio  
 a Collatiae ad portas custodibusque datis, ne quis  
 notum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati, duce Bruto,  
 in profecti. Vbi eo ventum est, quacumque in- 6  
 armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit;  
 ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid  
 aud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum ani- 7  
 in Romae tam atrox res facit quam Collatiae fece-  
 Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur.  
 simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerum, in  
 um magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advoca-  
 Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingenii- 8  
 quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine  
 Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili  
 , de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mor-

was not only,' etc.—*patris*,  
 the two aspects of the case  
 strasted,—the passive grief  
 father, and the energy (now  
 parent) of Brutus.—*casti-*  
*i.e.* the fact that he was  
 Gr. 497.—*quod*: as if there  
 etius, with *capiendi* in ap-  
 with it. The omission of  
 takes *quod* refer loosely to  
 in *capiendi*; as we might  
 visor of what, etc., taking  
 s.' It is to be remembered  
 order of clauses is the origi-  
 perhaps more common one.  
 test: an almost technical  
 stands ready, joins them.—  
 ibus datis: apparently only  
 of the general *parte* re-

6. *rursus*, but on the other hand.  
 —*haud temere*, not without rea-  
 son; not a mere chance occurrence  
 without significance. — *quidquid*  
*sit*: *i.e.* though they do not under-  
 stand it.

7. *nec minorem*, etc.: *i.e.* after  
 the story is told.—*tribunum Cele-*  
*rum*: commander of the body-  
 guard (see 15. 8). He could hardly  
 be a magistrate in the strict sense,  
 or have any right to call the people  
 together, but he is made so in the  
 story, doubtless in conformity with  
 later prejudices.

8. *pectoris*: here referring to  
 intellect, as *ingenii* to spirit.—  
*orbitate*, the bereavement.—*Tri-*  
*cipitini*: *i.e.* Sp. Lucretius Tricipi-  
 tinus.

- 9 tis indignior ac miserabilior esset.) Addita superbia  
 ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloa-  
 casque exhauriendas demersae: Romanos homines, vic-  
 tores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro  
 10 bellatoribus factos. Indigna Servi Tulli regis memorata  
 caedes et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia,  
 11 invocatique ultores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque  
 credo aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam  
 relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis incensam  
 multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret exsul-  
 esque esse iuberet L. Tarquinius cum coniuge ac libe-  
 12 ris. Ipse iunioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis  
 armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus regem exerci-  
 tum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe  
 Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto,  
 13 relinquunt. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit  
 execrantibus quacumque incedebat invocantibusque pa-  
 rentum furias viris mulieribusque.
- 60 Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re nova  
 trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus,

9. *fossas*: the smaller drains. — *exhauriendas*: not merely digging dry earth, but clearing out mud and filth; hence also *demersae*, to intensify the picture. — *omnium circa*: cf. *circa*, 58. 2 n. — *opifices*, etc.: these artisans were of the lowest classes, and so it was a degradation to be placed among them as compared with soldiers.

10. *dii*: not any particular gods, but such as might take it on themselves; cf., however, 13, where there is a slightly different conception.

11. *indignitas*: in the same sense as in 59. 3; but the Latin, it must be remembered, does not distinguish between *indignity* and

*indignation*; here the subjective phase predominates.

12. *ipse*: as opposed to the newly enrolled army which he leaves behind. — *ultro*: i.e. as volunteers; without waiting to be summoned. — *praefecto*: it is almost amusing to see the care which Livy takes in that age of formality to make the proceedings entirely regular. The *praefectus urbi* (*urbis*) was the chief magistrate of the city in the absence of all magistrates with the *imperium*.

13. *furias*: cf. 48. 7 n.

THE FALL OF TARQUIN AND INSTITUTION OF CONSULS.

60. *pergeret Romam*: the fortunate absence of the king from the

flexit viam Brutus — senserat enim adventum — ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis itineribus Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae exsiliumque indictum; liberatorem urbis laeta castra accipere, exactique inde liberi regis; duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt; Sextus Tarquinius Gabios, tamquam in suum regnum, profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatum, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus.

L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Servi Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

camp reads like a novel, as the whole doubtless is.

3. **ab condita**, etc.: cf. *degeneratum*, 53. 1. This construction is more deeply rooted in Latin than at first appears; cf. *castigator*, 59. 4 n, and the gerundive construction.

4. **a praefecto urbis**, etc.: again an effort to give a show of regularity to the proceedings; the auspices and *imperium* are thus continued. — **ex commentariis**: i.e. according to forms of election prescribed by him in his constitution.

# TITI LIVI

## AB VRBE CONDITA

### LIBER II.

- 1 Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora  
2 quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae  
3 multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum  
4 extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribu-

#### BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. *liberi*: the emphasis marks the division of the new era from the old.—*iam hinc*: with *peragam* in grammatical construction, but its position adds to the emphasis of *liberi*, and connects the adverbial idea more closely with the new state of things.

2. *nam*: introducing the suggestion of the tyranny of the last king, who alone of all did nothing which could be counted as an addition to the city. The whole is intended

to show that the republic came in just at the right time; hence *neque*, etc.

3. *pessimo publico*: here *pessimo* as substantive is modified by *publico*; cf. *bono publico*, 44. 3.—*facturus fuerit*: representing *fecisset* in the direct statement without *quin*; see Gr. 517. *d.* and cf. 589. *b.*

4. *futurum fuit*: see Gr. 517. *d.*—*regio*: see Gr. 348. *a.*—*tribuniciis*: here Livy is thinking of the later republic, when the tri-

s procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere  
umina, priusquam pignora coniugum ac liberorum 5  
asque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur,  
eos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum 6  
tae discordia forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio  
erii eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem  
tatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent.

libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annum 7  
erium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum  
quam sit ex regia potestate, numeres: omnia iura, 8  
ia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum  
ne si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videre-

Brutus prior concedente collega fasces habuit, qui  
acrior vindex libertatis fuerat quam deinde custos

Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis popu- 9  
ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posi-  
iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros reg-  
Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam 10  
nis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum nume-  
primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum  
mam explevit. Traditumque inde fertur, ut in se- 11  
m vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent:

were the agents of all popular  
bance.

res: *i.e.* the power of the  
— *moderatio*, the restraint,  
pon the strong democracy. —  
m: the figure all along is one  
getable and animal growth.

libertatis: its emphasis refers  
to *liberi*, at the beginning:  
of this freedom, however, etc.  
od deminutum sit: see Gr.  
.3. — *numeres*: see Gr. 447.2.  
ura: the consuls had all the  
r of the king. — *insignia*:  
y the *fasces*, but also including

the robes and the *sella curulis*. —  
*fasces*: only one at a time had  
these symbols of the power of life  
and death. — *vindex*: properly of  
the formal claimant of a slave in  
his suit for freedom; hence here  
*champion*.

9. *avidum*, while jealous; *i.e.* in  
their first enthusiasm.

10. *etiam*: *i.e.* by mere numbers  
as well as prominence in the state.  
— *caedibus*: cf. I. 54. 8. — *trecentorum*: cf. I. 35. 6.

11. *ut*: because *traditum* con-  
tains the idea of a custom or law.

conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

- 2 Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi  
 2 regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus mu-  
 3 niendo modum excesserint. Consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit: nimium Tarquinius regno adsuesse. Initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum tanquam alieni regni Superbum Tarquinium velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse. Nescire Tarquinius privatos vivere. Non placere nomen, per-  
 4 culosum libertati esse. Hinc primo sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitam-  
 5 que suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat neminem

— **profuit**, etc.: this is again conceived in the spirit of Livy's time. For the mood, see Gr. 575. *d*.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND EXPULSION OF THE TARQUINS.

2. **necubi**, *that nowhere*; literally, 'lest somewhere.'

2. **ac**: in allusion to the last fear expressed; 'and in fact in this direction,' etc.

3. **aliud**: see Gr. 390. *c*. — **nommen**: L. Tarquinius Collatinus. — **nimum**, etc.: the characteristic indirect discourse of a thought added in a narrative. — **intervallo**: here

of time, the reign of Tullius, which broke the continuity of the Tarquin dynasty. — **tanquam alieni**, *as belonging not to him*, but to the people.

4. **temptantium**: of the first cautious suggestions of the malcontents to try the temper of the people. — **sollicitam**: *i.e.* their minds were disturbed by the talk as it spread, so that it became necessary to do something.

5. **foret**: characteristic subjunctive. — **id**: *i.e.* the oath and the principle it contained. — **dicturum fuisse**: see Gr. 589. *b*. 2. — **vinceret**: overcome, and so *force him*.

regnare passuros nec esse Romae, unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullam rem quae eo pertineat contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicae vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum 6 solidam libertatem reciperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere, id obstaré libertati. 'Hunc tu' 7 inquit 'tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti reges; absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui auctore me, sed si quid deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi, exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum.' Consuli primo 8 tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumstant, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem 9 movebant minus: postquam Spurius Lucretius, maior aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque coepit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato 10 sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes 11 Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent. Collegam sibi comi-

7. *absolve, complete.* — *cum gente, etc.*: i.e. so and only so.

9. *movebant minus, etc.*, *did not affect him much, but, etc.* — *dignitate, position*, in respect to services and exploits. — *agere, to ply him.*

10. *privato*: after the expiration

of his office. — *alia . . . ignominia*: in being forced to go, for instance. — *Lavinium*: to a friendly foreign state, rather than to the hostile Etruscans, his own people.

11. *ad populum*: we may suppose the *comitia centuriata* in spite

tiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

- 3 Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab Tarquiniiis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac prodicionem  
 2 prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana iuventute adulescentes aliquot, nec hi tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adulescentium Tarquiniorum, adsueta more regio vivere. Eam  
 3 tum aequato iure omnium licentiam quaerentes libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquirebantur: regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse, inter amicum atque inimicum  
 4 discrimen nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris; peri-

of the separate mention of it in the next line. Such carelessness is not strange in our author.

#### PLOTS OF THE TARQUINS.

3. *cum*, etc.: opposed to the clause *id . . . fuit*. — *quidem*: correlative with *ceterum*, opposing the delay of the war with the Tarquins to the earlier intestine troubles. — *non timebant*: opposed to *haud . . . in dubio esset*.

2. *nec, and not . . . either*. — *in regno*: *i.e.* under the rule of a king. — *eam*: *i.e.* without control.

3. *eam*: referring to *regio*, etc. — *quaerentes*, *missing*: a very common meaning of the word; cf. the exactly opposite course of *desidero*, 'find missing,' and so 'feel the want of'; see *Harvard Studies*, I. p. 96. — *suam*, *for them*, on account of the emphasis. — *regem*, etc.: *i.e.* a

king was a human being, and so to be influenced by human motives for right or wrong. — *opus sit*: see Gr. 411. *b.* — *gratiae*: *favor*; properly, the agreeableness of the favored to the favorer; but in Latin such words are viewed from either direction; cf. note to *iniuria*, I. 13. 1. — *beneficio*: *i.e.* doing a good turn; more concrete than the preceding, and expressing nearly the same thing viewed from the opposite end. — *posse*: *i.e.* *regem*.

4. *rem surdam*: opposed to *hominem*. — *inexorabilem*: opposed to *a quo impetres*. — *salubriorem*, etc.: a parenthetical remark outside the antithesis. — *nihil*, etc.: opposed to *gratiae*, etc. — *excesseris*: see Gr. 518. *a.* — *innocentia*: a free use of the ablative of means. It is dangerous to try to live by this

culosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt sine mentione reditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, ne non reddita belli causa, reddita belli materia et adiumentum essent. Interim legati alia moliri, aperte bona repetentes clam recipiendi regni consilia struere; et tamquam ad id quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt, et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur.

Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi adsumunt. Praeterea aliquot nobiles adolescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, evincunt-

means alone; one needs some indulgence for frailties besides.

5. *sua sponte*: *i.e.* without the additional stimulus of the arrival of the envoys. — *animis*: ablative. — *ne*: *i.e.* 'on account of the fear that'; the purpose, properly, of the debate.

6. *alia*: opposed to the ostensible aim of their visit. — *tanquam ad id*, etc.: *i.e.* this was their excuse for visiting the young nobles, to gain their influence.

7. *placide*, *favorably*; properly, without objection or offence.

THE YOUNG NOBLES SIDE WITH THE TARQUINS.

4. *adolescentes*, *grown up*.

3. *eam ipsam*: cf. Gr. 296. *a*. — *causam*, *excuse*; hence the subjunctive *sumpsissent*, putting the words into the mouths of the envoys. — *evincunt*, *finally succeed in having*. — *ut . . . darentur*: object clause, as with words of persuading

que instando, ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinius darentur:  
 4 nam aliter qui credituros eos non vana ab legatis super  
 rebus tantis adferri? Datae litterae, ut pignus fidei  
 5 essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie  
 quam legati ad Tarquinius proficiscerentur cenatum forte  
 apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi remotis arbitris  
 multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermo-  
 nem eorum ex servis unus excepit; qui iam antea id  
 6 senserat agi; sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis  
 darentur, quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, ex-  
 spectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detu-  
 7 lit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos coniuratosque  
 profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere, litte-  
 rarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Prodito-  
 ribus extemplo in vincla coniectis de legatis paululum  
 addubitatum est, et quamquam visi sunt commisisse ut  
 hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium valuit.

and the like. — *litterae*: *i.e.* from the conspirators, in order to com- promise, and so bind them.

4. *qui, how.* — *credituros*: see Gr. 586.

5. *proficiscerentur*: see Gr. 551. *b.* — *arbitris, witnesses*; the earlier meaning. — *ut fit, as was natural*; this idea is immediately connected with *novo*, as it was because their heads were full of the new plans that they talked about them. — *qui, etc.*: translate with a new sentence, 'he,' etc.

6. *eam occasionem*: *i.e.* the opportunity afforded by the giving of the letter; hence the dependent clause takes the form of a purpose clause: he was waiting for the letter to be delivered, to take advantage of that opportunity. — *detulit*: the technical word for laying definite information before the authorities.

7. *profecti, etc.*: as magistrates they had the power of proceeding immediately, without our machinery of warrants, etc. — *sine tumultu*: *i.e.* without creating any alarm or stir outside of their own official circle. — *oppressere, crushed*; the word properly means more than this. They anticipated the outbreak by putting their hand on it in its inception, caught it in the act and nipped it in the bud, as it were; or, they seized it by the throat; hence *litterarum in primis, etc.*, in accordance with the rest of the figure — *ne interciderent*: a common form of explanatory purpose clause, where an object has already been expressed; cf. 9. 5 and see Gr. 576 for a similar usage in the indirect question. — *ut hostium, etc.*: *i.e.* had forfeited the rights of ambassadors (cf. *ius gentium*).

De bonis regis, quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra 5  
 refertur ad patres. Ibi victi ira vetuere reddi, vetuere  
 in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut con- 2  
 tacta regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis  
 amitteret. Ager Tarquiniarum, qui inter urbem ac Ti-  
 berim fuit, consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit.  
 Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. 3  
 Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere,  
 desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum  
 simul immissa corribus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem  
 aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis haesitantis 4  
 frumenti acervos sedisse inlitos limo. Insulam inde pau-  
 latim et aliis, quae fert temere flumen, eodem investitis  
 factam. Postea credo additas moles manuque adiutum,  
 ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac portici-  
 bus sustinendis esset.

Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptum- 5

CONFISCATION OF THE ROYAL  
 PROPERTY.

5. *reddi*: see Gr. 563. *d*, and cf. *reddenda*, 4. 3. — *integra*, *afresh*; *i.e.* as if the matter had not been considered; the technical meaning of the word. — *refertur*: by the consul, for whom *referre* is the technical term. — *in publicum*, etc., *to be confiscated*; *i.e.* sold and 'covered into the treasury.'

2. *diripienda*: as the property of armed enemies. — *ager*: comprising the whole level ground on which most of modern Rome stands.

3. *seges*: the standing grain. — *religiosum*: because consecrated with the land to the god. — *cum stramento*: the usual way was to cut the heads and leave the straw, but here the whole, for religious reasons, was cut off, as with us. — *caloribus*: this does not agree with

the time of the *refugium*, kept later (Feb. 24), but that is a small matter in a story of this sort.

4. *sedisse*, *settled*, or *got caught*. — *inde*; *i.e. ex eis*; connected by *et* with *aliis . . . investitis*. — *eodem*: *i.e. ad eundem locum*. — *credo*: the author, seeing the solid character of the *insula Tiberina*, the seat of the great temple of *Aesculapius*, naturally presumes that the formation must have been assisted by art. — *area*: see I. 38. 7 n. — *sustinendis*: after *firma*, in the sense of 'strong enough to'; see Gr. 505. *a*.

EXECUTION OF THE SONS OF  
 BRUTUS.

5. *regum*, *of the royal family*. — *de liberis*: this phrase is postponed in order to bring it in sharp contrast with *patri*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 820.

que supplicium, conspectius eo quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi  
 6 iuvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines quam sceleris, quo poenam  
 7 meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo  
 8 quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. Nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os eius spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publi-  
 9 cae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas  
 10 et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus.

— *consulatus*, his office of consul.

— *erat amovendus*: see Gr. 522.

a. — *exactorem*: cf. *sumptum*, *capiendae* de.

6. *ignotis*: i.e. obscure persons of little account, instead of young nobles. — *avertent*: see Gr. 476.N.

— *miserebat homines*, men felt compassion. — *poenae*, on account of, etc. Inasmuch as the punishment was deserved, men's feelings were excited by the crime which made it necessary.

7. *illos*, etc., to think that they, etc.; cf. *nimium Tarquinius*, etc., 2. 3 n., and see Gr. 462. — *potissimum*, of all (years). — *quidquid*, etc.: a common way of making a

very general statement; cf. *nihil* used instead of *nemo*, *quid* instead of *quis*, etc.

8. *sedem*: the raised platform or tribunal. — *eminente*, showing itself.

9. *utramque*: i.e. both in punishment of offenders and reward of informers, each of which would tend to prevent (*arcendis*) crime.

10. *primum*: one would expect *primus* according to the Latin idiom, but Livy is perhaps thinking of 'the first time,' the occasion rather than the person. — *dicitur*: naturally this could not be true, and even Livy does not believe it. — *vindicta*: the rod with which a formal

Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant ; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut qui ita liberati essent in civitatem accepti viderentur.

His sicut acta erant nuntiatis incensus Tarquinius <sup>6</sup> non dolore solum tantae ad inritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obseptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes, orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne <sup>2</sup> se ortum, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos ; se regem, augmentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, <sup>3</sup> quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse, bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem,

claimant of a person alleged to be free, but claimed by some one as a slave, asserted his (formal) right in the process for freedom.—Vindicio: this etymology is, of course, impossible, though the whole family of words is a puzzle to etymologists. The word *vindicis* comes from *vindex*, the name for a claimant in such a case, whence also comes *vin-dico* (-are), the word for the action; *vindicta* may be a noun of agency like *nauta*. The words all point to *vim dicere*; but as the first part is a case, and not a stem, the combination could not regularly yield *vindex* nor its derivative *vin-dico*. The only way of explaining the anomaly is to suppose a form *vindex* irregularly made in imitation of *iudex*, *index*; for as *iudex* is to *ius dicere*, so is *vindex* to *vim dicere*. —*ita*: *i.e.* by the process of *vindi-*

*catio*, as distinguished from other forms of manumission.

#### WAR WITH THE TARQUINS.

6. *sicut*, etc.: *i.e.* with all their details.—*ad inritum* (*in-ratum*), *to naught*.—*dolo*: dative.

2. *se ortum*: referring to Tarquinienses (cf. I. 34. 1); *eiusdem sanguinis*: apparently referring to Veientes, in the common chiasmic order.—*extorrem*, *an exile*; for derivation, cf. *concor*, and see Gr. 265. a.—*ex . . . regno*: cf. *ex bello tam tristi*, I. 13. 6.—*adulescentibus*: *i.e.* not mere children, but young men of promise.—*alios*: used of Numa by a rhetorical exaggeration familiar even in colloquial language.—*augmentem*: it heightens the picture that he was driven out just at that moment.

3. *eos*: *sc. proximos*.—*expers*: cf. *extorrem* above.—*ferrent*: see

- adiuvarent; suas quoque veteres iniurias ultum irent,  
 4 totiens caesas legiones, agrum adeptum. Haec move-  
 runt Veientes, ac pro se quisque Romano saltem duce  
 ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minaci-  
 ter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet:  
 5 pulchrum videbatur suos Romae regnare. Ita duo dua-  
 rum civitatum exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque  
 persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam  
 in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules  
 6 eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; Brutus  
 ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo  
 primus eques hostium agminis fuit, praeerat Arruns Tar-  
 quinius, filius regis; rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur.  
 7 Arruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde  
 iam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit,  
 inflammatus ira 'Ille est vir' inquit, 'qui nos extorres  
 expulit patria. Ipse en ille nostris decoratus insignibus  
 8 magnifice incedit. Di regum ultores adeste.' Concitat  
 calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infestus consulem deri-  
 git. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsius

Gr. 588. — *suas*: see Gr. 300. 1. — *caesas*, etc.: in apposition with *iniurias*; cf. Gr. 497, so often cited already.

4. *haec*: *i.e.* what is said about their *iniuriae*. Notice the emphasis: 'It was this last that influenced the Veientes . . .; the people of Tarquinius, on the other hand,' etc. — *pro se quisque*: this common expression makes a statement more vivid by referring the act to individuals; 'each one was moved to cry out.' — *Romano saltem duce*: *i.e.* the opportunity should not be lost, however they might keep quiet at other times, for fear of failure. — *nomen*, etc.: *i.e.* the people of

Tarquinius, on the other hand, were moved by sympathy with the royal family. — *suos*: see Gr. 301. 6.

5. *ita*: *i.e.* from these two motives.

6. *quadrato agmine*: *i.e.* not in ordinary marching-order, but so as to have the troops in battle array on every side, something like a hollow square; see A. & G.'s *Cæsar*, B. G., Notes, pp. 99, 100.

7. *consulem*: *i.e.* he recognized the office at a distance. — *facie quoque*: *i.e.* now he recognized the person. — *ipse*: the emphasis makes prominent the idea that Brutus' motives were personal, and not patriotic.

capessere pugnam ducibus, avide itaque se certamini offert: adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, 9 dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendī corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et 10 cetera equestris pugna coepit, neque ita multo post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut aequo Marte pugnatum est: dextera utrimque cornua vicere, laeva superata. Veientes, vinci ab Romano milite adsueti, 11 fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis, novus hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit.

Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium 7 atque Etruscos incessit ut omīssa inrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio pro- 2 ximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro 3 victis. Nam postquam inluxit nec quisquam hostium in

8. *tum*: as opposed to later times, when personal combat between leaders was unknown.

9. *vulneraret*: see Gr. 528. — *protegendī*, etc.: *i.e.* they used no defensive tactics, though of course each had a shield for defence. — *contrario*, of his adversary.

10. *cetera*: *i.e.* of the rest of the force. — *ita multo post*, so very long after. — *varia*, alternate; *i.e.* partial on each side; first one party conquering, and then the other, on the different wings. — *aequo Marte*: in reference to the general result, which was undecided, though not in the ordinary sense where both parties maintain the contest; hence *velut*.

11. *novus*: as opposed to *adsueti*. — *ab sua parte*: see Gr. 429. *b.*

#### MOURNING FOR BRUTUS.

7. *ita*: *i.e.* with this result. — *inrita, unsuccessful*; *i.e.* considering it such. — *quisque*: instead of the proper *uterque*.

2. *adiciunt*: *i.e.* common report. — *Silvani*: another name for Faunus, identified with Pan, the author of panic terrors. — *vincere*: *i.e.* *victorem esse*; apparently an imitation of the Greek, which is fond of this use.

3. *ita*: *i.e.* as the voice announced. — *certe*: *i.e.* however it may be with the miracle. — *ut, pro*: neither

- conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit, trium-  
 4 phansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus quanto  
 tum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius morti de-  
 cus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia  
 matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam  
 acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.
- 5 Consuli deinde qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles  
 vulgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio  
 6 etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum adfectare  
 fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum  
 Bruti et aedificabat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque  
 7 munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore. Haec dicta  
 vulgo creditaque cum indignitate angerent consulis ani-  
 mum, vocato ad concilium populo summissis fascibus  
 in contionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectacu-  
 lum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessio-  
 nemque factam populi quam consulis maiestatem vimque  
 8 maiorem esse. Ibi audire iussis consul laudare fortunam  
 collegae, quod liberata patria in summo honore pro re  
 publica dimicans matura gloria necdum se vertente in  
 invidiam mortem occubisset. Se superstitem gloriae  
 suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse, ex liberatore  
 9 patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidissee. 'Num-

of the expressions was strictly correct.—*erat*: see Gr. 543. *a*.

4. *collegae*: emphatic as opposed to Valerius, who returned.—*luxerunt*: see 16. 7 n.

5. *ex favore*: cf. *ex tanto*, etc., 6. 2.

VALERIUS YIELDS TO THE JEALOUSY OF THE PEOPLE.

6. *aedificabat*: used absolutely, as often in English.—*Velia*: the ridge across from the Palatine to the Esquiline.—*arcem*: like a for-

tress in the Middle Ages, to hold control over the city.—*fore*: see note on *nimium*, 2. 3.

7. *indignitate*, the outrage; properly, the 'undeservedness' of the accusation.—*in contionem escendit*: a shorthand expression for ascending to some place, not specified, to address the citizens.

8. *audire iussis*: i.e. the herald 'called them to order.'—*necdum*, and (yet) not yet, as had his own; 'fully complete, but yet not yet turned the other way.'—*Aquilios*,

ne ergo' inquit 'ulla adeo vobis spectata virtus  
ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acer-  
um regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen  
turum timerem? Ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque 10  
tarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis?  
levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone  
fundata leviter fides ut ubi sim quam qui sim magis  
at? Non obstabunt Publi Valeri aedes libertati 11  
rae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in  
um modo aedes, sed colli etiam subiciam, ut vos  
a suspectum me civem habitetis. In Velia aedifi-  
quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas.'  
ta confestim materia omnis infra Veliam, et, ubi 12  
Vicae Potae est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.  
atae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione 8  
ulem absolverent, sed quae adeo in contrarium ver-  
ut ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen  
um Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione ad- 2

see 4. 1. — *recidissee ad, fallen level of*, etc.

*vobis*: the MSS. have *a vobis*, *pectatus* is so regularly used the dative that the preposi- s probably an interpolation. — *urum*: a rare (ungrammati- confusion of a verb of fearing verbs of saying, occasionally in late or careless writers; ty but the critic is always natical. — *timerem*: see Gr.

*arce Capitolioque*: the same under different aspects; feared e real citadel or commanding hold, which the Velia was in y small degree indeed. — *levi ento pendet*, *have so little t. Momentum* probably refers ally to the movement of the t on the steelyard, and hence

comes to mean weight itself. — *fun- data levitur*: the figure is of a thing placed on a base not of sufficient weight to keep it from tipping over easily. — *fides*, *your confidence in me*. — *qui sim*: cf. *qui sis*, *non unde natus sis*, I. 41. 3. — *referat*: from *refert*.

11. *non in planum*, etc.: *i.e.* 'not only on a level, but even under a hill.'

12. *Vicae Potae* (*sc. aedes*): the words look as though they were irregularly manufactured from *vinco* and *potior*, in imitation of regular ones. — *clivo*: the broad road up the Velia; cf. *clivus Capitolinus*.

#### LAWS OF VALERIUS.

8. *latae*: in his character of consul. — *absolverent* (*sc. eum*): see Gr. 537. 2. — *verterent*: intransitive, as often. — *Publicolae*: for

- versus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratae  
 3 in vulgus leges fuere. Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia colle-  
 4 gae subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu non sufficientibus iam viribus ad consu-  
 5 laria munera obeunda intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucreti locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem, Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoriam intercidisse.
- 6 Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis aedes; Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit; Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus.
- 7 Aegrius quam dignum erat tulere Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam incliti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem iam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiunt, mortuum eius filium esse, funestaque familia dedicare eum templum non posse.
- 8 Non crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit,

*populi-cola* (cf. *agricola*, *caelicola*, etc.), with the same meaning as *popularis*.

2. *omnes*: sc. *leges*. — *provocatione*: as the action of magistrates was summary, this amounted to securing a trial of the accused by his peers; cf. I. 26. 8 n. These laws made the appeal an inviolable right instead of a precarious privilege, as under the kings. — *sacrando*: this devotion to the gods deprived the person devoted of all rights whatsoever; he could be killed, and his property was confiscated irrevocably.

3. *unius*: see Gr. 302. e. — *subrogando*: see Gr. 505. b.

4. *iam*, any longer; on account of his age.

6. *sortiti*: the regular method of decision between colleagues of equal privileges.

7. *postem*, etc.: a regular part of the ritual; cf. VII. 3. 8. — *incutiunt*: from the analogy of such expressions as *terrorem incutere* and the like. — *funesta*: i.e. ceremonially impure. — *familia*, his house; the whole establishment in and among which the death had taken place.

nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus quam ut cada-ver efferri iuberet, tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum. Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum T. Lucretius consules facti.

Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur; nunc monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis; nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis, nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsinna, cum regem esse Romae tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non umquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit: adeo valida res tum Clusina erat magnūque Porsinnae nomen. Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus

8. *certum*, for certain; cf. *pro certo*. — *nihil aliud*: see Gr. 390. c. Cf. Val. Max. V. 10. 1. — *efferri*: the body was brought out for the funeral. — *precationem*, the ritual, dictated by the priest and repeated by the magistrate.

9. *inde*: i.e. for the next year, as the consular election must be held by a consul.

#### WAR WITH PORSENA.

9. *Lartem*: properly a title, *Lord*. — *Porsinnam*: the name varies between *e* and *i* and between one *n* and two; it seems

to be the same form as *Spurinna*, *Vibenna*. — *consilium precesque*: cf. the two motives in 6. 3.

2. *morem*, etc.: the democratic example which might extend to their peoples. — *ipsam*: i.e. without an example to encourage it.

3. *tanta*: sc. *vi*. — *aequari*: equivalent to a future; cf. *fore* below.

4. *regem esse*: see Gr. 452. 3. N. 1. — *gentis*: see Gr. 345.

5. *alias*: cf. I. 28. 4. — *adeo*: i.e. to such a degree as is indicated by the preceding. — *ne . . . acciperet*: cf. 36. 3.

- 6 vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni sumptu, ademptum privatis, portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educerent.
- 7 Itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.
- 10 Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris, 2 alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset Horatius Cocles: id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit.
- 3 Qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque

6. *blandimenta*, favors; conciliatory measures. — *annonae*, etc.; *i.e.* to relieve the distress occasioned by the high price of grain. — *salis*, etc.: cf. I. 33. 9. The traffic was now taken from individuals and carried on by the state to relieve prices. — *in publicum omni sumptu*, the public assuming the whole expense. — *portoriis*: customs duties and the like. — *tributo*: assessments apportioned to the people for extraordinary needs. — *ferendo*: see Gr. 505. — *pauperes*, etc.: the explanation of the law-makers. — *liberos*: *i.e.* as material for soldiers.

8. *unus*: *i.e.* any single demagogue of later times. — *malis artibus*, demagogic arts, opposed to bene imperando.

#### HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE.

10. *pro se quisque*, all with one accord; cf. 6. 4. — *praesidiis*: *i.e.* the different points of defence are strengthened by reinforcements.

2. *dedit, ni fuisset*: see Gr. 517. *h. n. 2.* — *id*: the regular attraction into agreement with the predicate; see Gr. 296. *a.* — *munimentum*: as if the man were of the same kind as

relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestans-  
 que deum et hominum fidem testabatur nequiquam de- 4  
 serto praesidio eos fugere; si transitum pontem a tergo  
 reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque  
 quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque monere praedicere, ut  
 pontem ferro igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant;  
 se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti,  
 excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insig- 5  
 nisque inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis  
 comminus ad ineundum proelium armis ipso miraculo au-  
 daciae obstupescit hostis. Duos tamen cum eo pudor 6  
 tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros  
 genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam 7  
 et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper susti-  
 nuit. Deinde eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis relicta,  
 revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coegit.  
 Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad procures 8  
 Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare  
 omnes, servitia regum superbiorum, suae libertatis imme-  
 mores alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu 9  
 sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspec-  
 tant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato  
 undique in unum hostem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in 10  
 obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obsti-  
 natus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu cona-

muris and Tiberi; a common figure in all languages.

3. in statione pontis: *i.e.* in command of the guard at the bridge.  
 — reprehensans: trying by main force to hold them back; obsistens: blocking their path.

4. fidem, etc.: *i.e.* swearing *per deum hominumque fidem*, 'by everything in heaven and on earth.' — nequiquam, etc.: *i.e.* that it was

useless for them, etc. — transitum: predicate appositive with pontem; 'the bridge as a passage.' — monere: for moneo of the direct.

5. conspecta cedentium, *visibly retiring*. — pugnae: a stronger expression than the usual ablative. — obversis: opposed to cedentium, etc.

10. gradu: referring to the firm position which he takes to resist the shock. — iam impetu: *i.e.* they

bantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis sub-  
 11 latus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles  
 'Tiberine pater' inquit, 'te, sancte, precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias!' Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae habitu-  
 12 ram ad posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit: statua in comitio posita, agri quantum uno  
 13 die circumaravit datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant: nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid fraudans se ipse victu suo contulit.

- 11 Porsinna primo conatu repulsus consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Ianiculo locato  
 2 ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus undique accitis, et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen  
 3 per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis traicerent; brevique adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit ut non cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere

had come to the point of trying to overwhelm him by mere force of numbers. — **pavore**: the shout and the crash alarmed them, and stopped their course for the moment.

11. **Tiberine pater**: all rivers were more or less divine, and represented in the form of old men. With this prayer cf. that of Aeneas, Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 72, and the probable source of both in Ennius' *Te-que, pater Tiberine, tuo cum flumine sancto*. — **ita**: *i.e.* thus having prayed. — **sic, as he was**. — **trana-vit**: the story is variously told; in some versions he is drowned; but

one is as good as another. — **habitu-rum**: see Gr. 499. 1.

13. **privata, of individuals**.

#### THE SIEGE OF ROME.

11. **repulsus, etc.**: notice Livy's fondness for participial constructions. — **ipse, etc.**: to explain the supposed cutting-off of provisions. If Latium were open, there could be no scarcity of provisions.

2. **ad custodiam**: co-ordinated with the purpose clause, **ut praedatum, etc.**

3. **cetera**: *i.e.* other property, which was carried in (to be supplied

auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis 4  
 quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul, in-  
 tentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improvise  
 adoriundi, in parvis rebus neglegens ultor gravem se ad  
 maiora vindicem servabat. Itaque, ut eliceret praedato- 5  
 res, edicit suis, postero die frequentes porta Esquilina,  
 quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scitu-  
 ros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia  
 infida transfugerent. Et sciere per fugae indicio, multo- 6  
 que plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen trai-  
 ciunt. P. Valerius T. Herminium cum modicis copiis 7  
 ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considerare iu-  
 bet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuventute ad portam Col-  
 linam stare, donec hostis praetereat; inde se obicere, ne  
 sit ad flumen reditus. Consul alter T. Lucretius porta 8  
 Naevia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Va-  
 lerius Caelio monte cohortes delectas educit. Hique 9  
 primi apparuere hosti. Herminius, ubi tumultum sensit,  
 concurrat ex insidiis versisque in Valerium Etruscis  
 terga caedit; dextra laevaue hinc a porta Collina illinc  
 ab Naevia redditus clamor; ita caesi in medio praedato- 10  
 res, neque ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam saeptis

from compelleretur). — *propel-  
 lere*: *sc. pecus*.

4. *consilio*: in pursuance of the  
 design presently carried out.

6. *et sciere*, and in fact they  
 did learn it. — *universae*: *i.e.* of  
 taking it all at once, instead of the  
 little booty that they ordinarily se-  
 cured.

7. *Valerius*: he was evidently in  
 command on that day. — *Gabina  
 via*: the first part of the *via Prae-  
 nestina*. — *portam Collinam*: at  
 the northeast corner of the city;  
 the enemy were evidently crossing  
 above.

8. *porta Naevia*: on the south  
 end of the city. — *Caelio monte*:  
 also looking towards the east.

9. *hique primi*: *i.e.* Valerius first  
 made the attack. — *Herminius*,  
 etc.: the ambushed troops now at-  
 tack the Etruscans in the rear, and  
 the other two divisions attack them  
 on the left and right. — *Valerium*:  
 a necessary correction of the MSS.  
*Lucretium*.

10. *caesi*, etc., being hemmed in  
 and cut down. — *neque . . . et*,  
 not . . . and; an irregular form of  
 connection, occasionally found in  
 all styles; so in Greek, *οὔτε . . . τε*.

omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effuse evagandi Etruscis fuit.

- 12 Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem  
 2 spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius, adulescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur populum Romanum servientem, cum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab isdem  
 3 Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit, — itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium  
 4 castra constituit; dein metuens ne, si consulum iniussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum  
 5 urbis crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. 'Transire Tiberim' inquit, 'patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor: maius, si di iuvant, in animo est facinus.' Adprobant patres.

— *finis*, etc.: *i.e.* they learned a lesson, and were afterward on their guard.

#### THE SIEGE CONTINUED.

12. *obsidio*: the siege was not raised at all by this success, though the activity of the Etruscans was crippled. — *sedendo*: *i.e.* without active operations, by starving them out.

2. *cum*: this word should go with *constituit* (Gr. 546. a); but the connection of the clauses is forgotten, and a new sentence begins with *itaque*. — *servientem*: *i.e.* under a monarchy, opposed to *liberum*; cf. *liberi*, I. I. — *obsessum esse*, etc.: it is the fashion of the Latin to co-ordinate such clauses as these directly with the main

clause; in English we subordinate them by means of a *while*, or the like.

3. *itaque*: going back to the main statement (C. Mucius, etc.). — *sua sponte*: *i.e.* without the consent of his superiors; as we say in slang, 'on his own hook.'

4. *fortuna*, etc., a charge to which, etc., would give color; an attendant circumstance of *retraheretur*, etc.

5. *transire*, etc.: the abruptness of his statement is particularly dramatic, and well put in keeping with his supposed character. — *praedo*: *i.e.* to get booty himself. — *populationum*, etc.: *i.e.* to make reprisals for the enemy's depredations. — *iuvant*: the constant use of present for future.

Abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Vbi eo venit, in 6  
 confertissima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi 7  
 cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum  
 rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret, eum milites  
 vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari uter Porsinna esset, ne  
 ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo te-  
 mere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obruncat.  
 Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mu- 8  
 crone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum concursu ad clamorem  
 facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tri-  
 bunal regis destitutus tum quoque inter tantas fortunae  
 minas metuendus magis quam metuens, 'Romanus sum' 9  
 inquit 'civis, C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occi-  
 dere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad  
 caedem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec 10  
 unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo  
 est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si

7. *stipendium*: Livy has in his mind the payment of Roman troops by the quaestor; hence *pari ornatu*, as the quaestor was also a magistrate as well as the consul. — *sciscitari*: an extension of the principle stated, Gr. 456 (example 3). — *semet . . . quis esset*: see Gr. 576. — *temere*: *i.e.* he struck at a venture, one being as likely to be the king as the other.

8. *qua per trepidam*, etc.: *i.e.* by the natural shrinking of the crowd from an apparently desperate man who had just committed a murder. — *concursu*, etc.: *i.e.* the rush of outsiders in greater numbers who had not been paralyzed by the occurrence. — *destitutus*, *set down*, but with an idea of being left alone without any prospect of help. — *tum quoque*: *i.e.* even under these circumstances. —

*inter tantas*, etc.: an explanation of *tum*. — *metuendus*, *an object of fear*.

9. *Romanus*: by his very name declaring himself an enemy without any prevarication. — *fortia*: to be taken in two different senses with the two verbs, but the subjective and objective distinction was very dim to the Romans.

10. *nec unus*, etc., *and I am not the only one*, etc.; an effect produced by the emphasis. — *animos*: not merely 'purpose' or 'design,' but with an idea of boldness or daring; cf. I. 56. 7. — *proinde*: the regular illative particle when its clause is hortatory. — *in hoc discrimen*: not merely 'prepare for this struggle,' but 'this is the struggle you must prepare for,' as is indicated by the emphasis as well as by the explanatory *ut* clause; cf. also

- iuvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo,  
 11 ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi  
 iuventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nul-  
 lum proelium timueris; uni tibi et cum singulis res erit.  
 12 Cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque contreritus cir-  
 cumdari ignes minitabundus iuberet, nisi expromeret  
 propere quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret,  
 13 'En tibi' inquit, 'ut sentias quam vile corpus sit iis qui  
 magnam gloriam vident,' dextramque accenso ad sacri-  
 ficium foculo inicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu  
 torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede  
 sua prosilisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem iussis-  
 14 set, 'Tu vero abi' inquit, 'in te magis quam in me hosti-  
 lia ausus. Iuberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria  
 ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli liberum te intactum  
 15 inviolatumque hinc dimitto.' Tunc Mucius quasi remu-  
 nerans meritum 'Quando quidem' inquit 'est apud te  
 virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me quod minis ne-  
 quisti, trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Roma-

hoc in 11. — iuvat: cf. si . . . iuvant, 5. — capite: an ablative of price. — habeas: co-ordinate with dimices.

11. nullam: notice that the emphasis is on the negative, 'you are not to,' etc. — timueris: see Gr. 450 (3) and N. 4. — uni: opposed to the idea of numbers implied in aciem, etc.

12. circumdari ignes, him to be thrown into the flames. — expromeret: for expromet (or -at) of the command, see Gr. 516. f. — sibi: see Gr. 367. d. — iaceret: used like our throw out.

13. tibi: see Gr. 379. a. — que, and at the same time. — alienato, etc., unconscious; properly, 'disconnected,' etc. — sensu: his bodily

sensations; animo: his perceiving mind. — altaribus: the same as foculo above.

14. tu vero: the colloquial emphasized pronoun; see Gr. 295. a, and 598. l. — iuberem: the word is used with any kind of expression which would have an imperative in the direct form, as macte virtute esto. — macte: here (as probably always) an adverb; cf. impune, I. 58. 7, and bene, male esse. — nunc, as it is. — iure: ablative of separation.

15. ut . . . tuleris: see Gr. 532; the perfect is allowed because the beneficium has already been bestowed and had its effect, though what Porsena gains by it is still to be made known, almost like 'that you may know that you have,' etc.,

nae ut in te hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit ; 16  
ceteri, utcumque ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum  
fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.'

Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dex- 13  
trae manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsinna Romam  
secuti sunt : adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, 2  
quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et sub-  
eunda dimicatio totiens quot coniurati superessent, ut  
pacis condiciones ultro ferret Romanis. Iactatum in con- 3  
dicionibus nequiquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituen-  
dis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis quam  
quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro 4  
Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque neces-  
sitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium de-  
duci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace exerci-  
tum ab Ianiculo deduxit Porsinna et agro Romano exces-  
sit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum 5  
dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata.

Ergo ita honorata virtute feminae quoque ad publica 6

'I will say,' etc. — *trecenti*, etc.,  
*there are three hundred of us*, etc.  
— *grassaremur*: the word gives  
the idea of secret assassination; cf.  
*grassator*, *cut-throat*.

16. *utcumque*, etc., *however the  
first may fare*; i.e. 'whether I am  
killed or not.'

#### OFFERS OF PEACE. FEAT AND HONORS OF CLOELIA.

13. *Scaevolae*: diminutive from  
*scaeva* (sc. *manus*). — *legati*: here,  
though used as a noun, this word  
has the construction of a participle,  
hence a *Porsinna*; cf. Gr. 494. a.

2. *moverat eum*, *was he affected*,  
to preserve the emphasis; for tense,  
see Gr. 476. N. — *casus*, *the result*;  
i.e. the narrow chance by which he

had escaped. — *subeunda*: cf. *ab  
condita*, I. 60. 3 n, and *castigator*, I.  
59. 4 n. — *superessent*: for *super-  
sunt* in his thought.

3. *nequiquam*, *without effect*. —  
*ignoraret*: see Gr. 540. N. 3.

4. *de agro*, etc.: this subject  
has not been mentioned before, but  
the reference is doubtless to the  
lands described in I. 15. 5 and 33.  
9. — *impetratum*: opposed to *ne-  
quiquam* above. — *Romanis*: after  
*expressa*, all ambiguity being re-  
moved by the context. — *vellent*:  
representing a *vultis* of direct dis-  
course, the protasis of *obsides dandi  
sunt* in the words of Porsenna. —  
*his condicionibus*, etc.: a much  
more serious subjection of Rome to  
the king is here glossed over; cf.

- decora excitatae. Et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sospitesque omnes
- 7 Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deposcendam; alias haud magni facere:
- 8 deinde in admirationem versus supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre, quem ad modum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam *intactam* inviolatamque ad suos remissurum.
- 9 Vtrimque constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa quos vellet
- 10 legeret. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab
- 11 hoste, quae maxime opportuna iniuriae esset. Pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo

Tac. *Hist.* III. 72, Dion. V. 35 and 65, Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 139.

6. Romam ad propinquos: see Gr. 428. j, and 363. i.

7. facere: see Gr. 580. a.

8. supra Coclites: cf. 'hair fairer than the Graces,' a form of speech common in all languages. — dicere: historical infinitive. — dedatur: for *dedetur* (or *deditur* used as equivalent to it) of the direct. — habiturum: see Gr. 583. b. N. — deditam: a shorthand way of expressing the opposite condition; cf. Gr. 496.

9. constitit, was kept.

10. decorum: it would be less modest in her to select young men. — consensu, etc.: the forced an-

tithesis is noticeable; on the one hand, the girl herself, implied in *virginitati*, and on the other her companions in misfortune, each of whom would like to be chosen. The antithesis is made formal by opposing the *feelings* of the girl to the *approval* of the others. — probabile, *approved*; as the passive participle is often equivalent to the verbal in *-bilis*, so also sometimes the verbal is not unlike the participle in meaning, but with the suggestion of the action being natural or expected.

11. in (femina), in the case of, as often with *in*. — summa, etc.: near *veterem portam Palatii* (I. 12. 3). — fuit posita: this form

ere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa  
 ra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.  
 Quic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci ab- 14  
 tens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aeta-  
 inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona Porsinnae regis  
 vendendi. Cuius originem moris necesse est aut inter a  
 um natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore  
 isse principio quam hic prae se ferat titulus bona  
 iliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis quae tra- 3  
 tur, Porsinnam discedentem ab Ianiculo castra opu-  
 a convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis  
 meatu Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab  
 ingua obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diri- 4  
 entur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsinnae appellata,  
 iam muneris magis significante titulo quam auctio-  
 fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestatem quidem  
 uli Romani esset.  
 immisso Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in ea loca :

t to mean 'was there once,'  
 not in Livy's time; Seneca,  
 ver, speaks of it (*ad Marc.*  
 ) as still existing.

• **profectioni**: the dative with  
*creo* is peculiar to this place,  
 the ablative without a prepo-  
 is not common. It may be a  
 of construction according to  
 ense. — **cetera sollemnia**: *i.e.*  
 used at public sales of booty.  
**ona**, etc.: a part of the booty  
 apparently so described at the

**omissam**: attracted to agree-  
 with **originem**, though it,  
 ell as **crevisse**, belongs with  
**s**. — **titulus**: the notice of  
 in which the property to be  
 was enumerated. — **hostiliter**:  
 is the property of an enemy,  
 sed to the peaceable character

of the settlement of affairs as de-  
 scribed; cf. the same word in 4.  
 Of course the whole story has been  
 entirely made over, and the custom  
 may have originated in a grim joke  
 like 'catching a Tartar.' But in  
 Livy's time they doubtless believed  
 in the varnished account of the  
 Etruscan wars.

4. **ea**: *i.e.* the *castra*, meaning  
 the property left therein. — **fortu-  
 nae**: curiously like our own use of  
 'fortune' for large possessions. —  
**in potestatem**: a construction with  
*esse* peculiar to this phrase; see  
 Gell. I. 7. 16. — **esset**: indirect  
 discourse after **significante**; see  
 Gr. 592. 2.

5. **ne frustra**, etc., the power of  
 Etruria, no doubt, spread over the  
 whole of Latium after the conquest  
 of Rome, and this occupation is

- exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium  
 6 Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primo Aricinos  
 res necopinata perculerat. Arcessita deinde auxilia et a  
 Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie  
 decernere auderent. Proelio into adeo concitato impetu  
 se intulerant Etrusci ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos.  
 7 Cumanae cohortes, arte adversus vim usae, declinavere  
 paululum effuseque praelatos hostes conversis signis ab  
 tergo adortae sunt; ita in medio prope iam victores caesi  
 8 Etrusci. Pars perexigua duce amisso, quia nullum pro-  
 prius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortuna et specie  
 supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benigne excepti divisique in  
 9 hospitium. Curatis vulneribus alii profecti domos nuntii  
 hospitalium beneficiorum, multos Romae hospitum urbis-  
 que caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem  
 deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt.

hinted at in the metamorphosed narrative. Aricia (cf. I. 50. 3), with the help of the Greek colony of Cumæ, seems to have stayed their advance.

6. *perculerat*: cf. *consulaverat*, I. 7. 1 n, and *intulerant*, below. — *arcessita*, etc.: the emphasis gives the force, 'but having received upon application assistance from their neighbors, they ventured,' etc. — *funderent*, etc.: notice the chiasmic antithesis. This is the more necessary because to us at first sight *Aricinos* seems the emphatic word. But a careful examination shows that *funderent* is the main word, of which the antithetic idea is postponed in chiasmic fashion to the end.

7. *declinavere*: i.e. withdrew to one side, and let the enemy go by them in their onward rush (*praelatos*). — *conversis signis*: i.e. after the enemy had gone by, they wheeled and attacked them.

8. *fortuna et specie* (loose ablatives of manner): i.e. their condition and their attitude were those of suppliants. — *delati sunt*: the regular word for reaching a haven, and probably used here with a consciousness of that meaning; not merely 'came to,' but 'brought up at' Rome, as the end of their flight; for number of the verb, see Gr. 317. d. — *divisi*, etc.: i.e. distributed round to be entertained as guests.

9. *alii*: opposed to *multos* below. — *hospitium*: i.e. referring to their entertainment just spoken of. — *caritas, affection for*: but in Latin the idea is looked at (as often) from the other end as the 'dearness' to them of the objects of affection; cf. Gr. 348 and note. — *Tuscum vicum*: a narrow street just under the Palatine, between that and the Capitoline, leading from the Forum down towards the river. It was the place of busi-

Spurius Larcius inde et P. Valerius Publicola con- 15  
sules facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Porsinna de re-  
ducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus cum  
responsum esset missurum ad regem senatum legatos,  
missi confestim honoratissimus quisque e patribus: non  
quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi reges,  
ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos quam legatis  
eius Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum  
mentio eius rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis  
in vicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret quod con-  
tra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in per-  
niciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent cui nihil

ness for those who dealt in materi-  
als for luxury and dissipation. The  
reason for the name here given is  
probably not the true one. It was  
more likely the place of Tuscan  
merchandise.

#### THIRD YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC. PEACE WITH PORSENA.

15. *Sp. Larcius*, etc.: the text  
is here so confused in the manu-  
scripts that the names of the con-  
suls cannot be made out with cer-  
tainty. That Publicola was one of  
them is inferred from 16. 2. — *honoratissimus quisque*: indicating  
a large and imposing embassy, not  
two or three envoys.

2. *breviter*: i.e. without sending  
the embassy to say what they had  
already determined on. — *potuerit*:  
representing a *potuit* (independent  
of the *quin* construction); see Gr.  
517. c; it is not necessary to sup-  
pose a protasis in all these cases,  
but the construction is the same as  
if there were one. For connection  
of tenses, see Gr. 485. c. N. 2; the  
proper *posset* would not represent  
the perfect, which is required in  
this construction. For the *quin*

construction, see Gr. 540. N. 3. —  
*recipi*: the tense represents in  
effect a present indicative (*non  
recipimus*), a regular colloquial  
form of refusal; cf. *non emo, I'm  
not buying = I won't buy*, and see  
Gr. 468. — *ideo*: referring back to  
*quin*, and best omitted in transla-  
tion. — *missos*: an indirect quota-  
tion from the supposed argument in  
favor of the course pursued. It  
sounds like a far away echo of the  
senatorial or diplomatic debate on  
the subject. — *daretur*: the regular  
construction after such compari-  
sons as this is a result clause with  
*ut*, but the *ut* is omitted in all peri-  
ods, particularly in early Latin; see  
Gr. 571. a. — *ut*, etc.: the purpose  
of their action opposed to the rea-  
son just negated. — in *vicem*:  
belonging with *sollicitarentur*, op-  
posed to *mutuis*, and anticipating  
the *cum* clauses *ille peteret, Ro-  
mani negarent*. — *vellent*: if this  
part of the answer were independ-  
ent both of the purpose and of the  
*cum* construction, it would be '*Ro-  
mani nisi . . . velint* (potential subj.),  
*negant cui nihil . . . velint*.' — *ne-  
gatum*: see Gr. 497. c. N.

- 3 negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse; ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius portas quam fegibus patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, 4 idem urbi sit; proinde, si salvam esse vellet Romam, 5 ut patiatur liberam esse orare. Rex verecundia victus 'Quando id certum atque obstinatum est' inquit, 'neque ego obtundam saepius eadem nequiquam agendo, nec Tarquinius spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quiete, exsilio quaerant 6 locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat.' Dictis facta amiciora adiecit. Obsidum quod reliquum erat reddidit, agrum Veientem foedere ad Ianiculum icto ademp- 7 tum restituit. Tarquinius spe omni reditus incisa exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsinna fuit.

3. **non in regno**, etc.: a part of what the embassy was to say.—**potius . . . quam . . . patefacere**: here only the two nouns are compared, while the predicate remains the same, hence there is no need of a subjunctive.—**erit**: see Gr. 583.

4. **proinde**: the clause following is really an imperative one, though **orare**, representing a parenthetical *oramus*, governs the construction; hence the use of this particle.

5. **verecundia**: *i.e.* respect for the noble sentiments of the Romans.—**neque ego**, etc.: the real opposition is between the Romans and the Tarquins, but this is disturbed by the earlier one between the Romans and Porsenna, which would be brought out if Livy had stopped at **agendo**. The result is a careless confusion of antithesis. The same confusion appears in **obtundam . . . frustrabor**.—**quod nullum**:

as Livy would say *nullum auxilium*, he also says **quod nullum**, though we use a partitive construction; cf. Gr. 346. *z.*—**exsilio**: see Gr. 366. *b.*—**meam**: opposed to the Tarquins.

6. **agrum**, etc.: cf. 13. 4.—**ad Ianiculum**: not necessarily inconsistent with 13. 2, because the negotiations themselves may have taken place there, though the initiative may have been taken by Porsenna; but the whole is probably garbled.

7. **Mamilium**: see I. 49. 9.—**Romanis pax fida**: these words, as opposed to the action in reference to the Tarquins, by their emphasis crowd **ita** out of its place.

WAR WITH THE SABINES. ATTIIUS CLAUDIUS.

16. **triumpharunt**, were honoured with a triumph.

2. **et**: connecting the idea of fight

consules M. Valerius P. Postumius. Eo anno bene 16  
 tum cum Sabinis; consules triumpharunt. Maiore 2  
 mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos et ne  
 simul ab Tusculo, unde, etsi non apertum, suspectum  
 bellum erat, repentini periculi oriretur, P. Valerius  
 cum T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio 3  
 belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum  
 virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius 4  
 is, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen,  
 pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur  
 factioni esset, ab Inregillo magna clientium comi-  
 manu Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque 5  
 Anienem; vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea  
 tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro appellata. Ap-  
 ter patres lectus haud ita multo post in principum  
 tionem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in 6  
 Sabinum profecti cum ita vastatione, dein proelio

inst them, implied though  
 pressed, and the definitely ex-  
 purpose of *ne quid*. These  
 explain the reason why vet-  
 not new men were chosen  
 and. — **P. Valerius** quar-  
 is three previous consulates  
 tioned 2. 11, 8. 9, and 15. 1;  
 ever, note on 15. 1. — **Lu-**  
 cf. 8. 9.

**le**: *i.e. a Sabinis*.

**tius Clausus**: though this  
 might be the same as its  
 derivative, it can hardly  
 origin of it. The whole  
 the working over of vari-  
 connected facts into one story.  
 : used as objective genitive  
**turbatoribus**, just as one might  
*are bellum* in the cognate ac-  
 construction. — **Inregillo**:  
 is uncertain, and the situ-  
 the place is unknown.

5. **vetus Claudia tribus**: op-  
 posed to the new members who  
 were added to the tribe, not to a  
 new tribe. — **qui**: the antecedent  
 of this relative is the subject of  
**appellata** (*est*); see Gr. 316. *b*. —  
**eo**: the land assigned to these Sa-  
 bines. — **venirent**: the subjunctive  
 is occasioned by the idea of indi-  
 rect discourse in **appellata**. — **lec-**  
**tus**: by the senate itself. — **digna-**  
**tionem**: differing from *dignitas* as  
 a verbal abstract; 'the being held  
 in esteem' from an abstract quality,  
 'the worthiness' of the man him-  
 self. The Latin does not often  
 make such distinctions, and these  
 two words afterwards were much  
 confused in meaning.

6. **vastatione**: sapping their re-  
 sources by predatory excursions;  
**proelio**: destroying their fighting  
 power by killing, wounding, or cap-

adfixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt.

7 P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est datus.

8 Luxere matronae ut Brutum. Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat,

9 omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsum est. Nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus temperatum est: et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti et captos passim trucidaverunt; ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum.

17 Secuti consules Opiter Verginius Sp. Cassius Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus oppugna-

turing their soldiers in actual combat. Both of these are included in *opes*, which embraces all their means of making war. — *inde*, from that quarter. — *triumphantes*: cf. 16. 1.

DEATH OF VALERIUS. WAR WITH THE AURUNCI.

7. *Agrippa*, etc.: a mere date, for which purpose the names of consuls were used, so that the words are in a kind of apposition with *anno*. — *Menenio*: Livy constantly varies the old established order of names, the praenomen first, then the gentile name, and finally the family name, and in time the order was generally neglected. — *gloria*: the construction wavers between an ablative of quality and one of manner, a confusion which suggests a possible origin for the ablative of quality. — *de publico*:

*i.e.* from the treasury. It may be that Livy is trying to explain a public funeral (*funus censorium*), which was really a mark of honor. — *luxere*: see 16. 7 n.

8. *Auruncos*: a derivation of *Aurones* (*Auron* + *cus*; cf. *homo*, *homun-cu-lus*), perhaps originally a diminutive like *Sabelli*; a people of lower Italy just outside the bounds of Latium. — *Pometiam*: cf. I. 53. 2. — *compulsum*: there was no army outside the walls, and only the town held out in which the allied Aurunci had taken refuge.

9. *caedibus*: dative. — *qui trecenti*: cf. *quod nullum*, 15. 5 n. — *ira abstinuit*: cf. I. 1. 1. The expression is poetical. — *et hoc*: as well as the preceding.

CAPTURE OF POMETIA.

17. *secuti consules*: *equiva-*

runt. In quos Aurunci magis iam inexpressibili odio quam  
 spe aliqua aut occasione coorti cum plures igni quam  
 ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta  
 complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis  
 et occisis, consulum quoque alterum — ceterum nomen  
 auctores non adiciunt — gravi vulnere ex equo deiectionem  
 prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re redi-  
 tum. Inter multos saucios consul spe incerta vitae  
 relatus. Interiecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod  
 vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset,  
 cum ira maiore bellum tum viribus etiam auctis Pome-  
 tia arma inlata. Et cum vineis reffectis aliaque mole  
 belli iam in eo esset ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio  
 est facta. Ceterum nihilo minus foeda dedita urbe  
 quam si capta foret Aurunci passi: principes securi  
 percussi, sub corona venierunt coloni alii; oppidum

lent to 'the consuls of the next year.' — vi, etc.: cf. I. 57. 3.

2. in quos: referring to consules, but including, of course, the whole force. — iam: i.e. the time had gone by for any hope of successful resistance, and nothing remained but to satisfy their hatred. — aliqua: one would expect ulla, the negative pronoun, on account of the negative force of magis quam, but aliquis is often thus used; cf. 2. 2, aliquid; see Gr. 311, 312. — cuncta complent, spread everywhere.

3. hostium: speaking from the point of view of the Aurunci. — alterum, one of the two, as often. — ceterum, however.

4. vulneribus, etc.: see Gr. 505. a. — bellum: the word is doubtful; if retained it covers nearly the same ground as arma, but is more abstract as connected with ira, the spirit of the war, while arma refers

to viribus, the actual means of fighting.

5. in eo esset, etc., the soldiers were on the point, etc.; an impersonal construction with the result clause, which may be looked upon as its subject, though ut has eo for its antecedent. — evaderet: i.e. from the agger, or the towers, raised as high as the top of the walls.

6. foeda, a horrible fate. — dedita, etc., though they had surrendered, etc. — Aurunci: this must refer chiefly to the people of Pometia and Cora. — principes, etc.: this may be merely a repetition of the story in 16. 9, but Livy evidently takes it as a different one. — sub corona: cf. Aul. Gell. VI. 4, antiquitus mancipia iure belli capta coronis induta veniebant et idcirco dicebantur 'sub corona' venire. — coloni alii: Livy apparently treats all the inhabitants as if they were colonists.

- 7 dirutum, ager veniit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.
- 18 Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Larcium  
 2 consules habuit. Eo anno Romae cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit, parvaque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur supra  
 3 belli Latini metum. Id quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos concitante Octavio Mamilio satis constabat. In hac tantarum expectatione rerum sollicita civitate dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quo anno nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniana essent—id quoque enim traditur—, parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator  
 5 creatus sit, satis constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Larcium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos invenio. Consulares legere:

7. consules magis, etc.: *i.e.* the war was not really important enough for a triumph, but the joy over the avenging of the former defeat caused a triumph to be allowed.

#### THE FIRST DICTATOR.

18. 2. per ludos . . . per lasciviam: the loosely used *per* expresses in the first case the occasion, in the second the manner of the outbreak. — cf. *per luxum*, *Pref.* 12, and *per occasiones*, 11. 2. — *raperentur*: cf. the Rape of the Sabinæ, I. 9. 10. — *supra*, *more serious than*; the phrase is an attribute of rebellion; cf. *Gr.* 348. c. — *metum*: *i.e.* the alarm caused by the Latin war.

3. id quoque, etc.: cf. *ab Tusculo*, etc., 16. 2. — *triginta*, etc.: *i.e.* not merely Tusculum, but the

whole Latin league was aroused. — *Mamilio*: cf. I. 49. 9.

4. *sed nec*, etc.: *i.e.* the occasion is clear, but the year is not recorded, — *quibus consulibus*: although different in case, this expression would ordinarily be equivalent to *quo anno*, but here the personal character of the consuls, as insufficient to cope with the difficulties of the situation, or not trustworthy on account of their political tendencies, makes it necessary to use both expressions; and the narrative is made lively by putting the words in the dative. — *constat*: *i.e.* various persons are named by different authorities; see the argument below.

5. *veterrimos*: these are Fabius Pictor and Piso. — *Sp. Cassium*: cf. 17. 1. — *consulares*: object. — *legere*: the subject seems to be in

ita lex iubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis 6  
adducor ut credam Larcium, qui consularis erat, potius  
quam M'. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui non-  
dum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consuli-  
bus appositum: quin, si maxime ex ea familia legi dic- 7  
torem vellent, patrem multo potius M. Valerium  
spectatae virtutis et consularem virum legissent.

Creato dictatore primum Romae postquam praeferri 8  
securus viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut in-  
tentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim ut  
in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium,  
neque provocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in cura  
parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dicta- 9  
tor eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant,  
metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt. Qui- 10  
bus orantibus dictatorem senatumque ut veniam erro-  
ris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum ignosci  
adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex  
bellis sererent. Actum tamen est de pace; impetrata- 11  
que foret, si quod impensae factum in bellum erat, prae-  
stare Sabini—id enim postulatum erat—in animum

Livy's mind the senate.—*ita*: *i.e.* that only ex-consuls should be chosen.—*creando*: used commonly of a popular election; the regular word for the dictator is *dicere*, said of the consul.

6. *moderatorem*, etc.: by giving the description instead of the mere name, the improbability of a young man's being chosen is brought out.

7. *si maxime*: like our 'if ever so much'; *i.e.* if, as the historian (probably Valerius Antias; see Intr. 6) says, they must have one of that family, the one named cannot be the one.—*vellent*: for its subject, cf. *legere*, 5; for mood and

tense, see Gr. 517. *a*; *voluissent* would not make the time so exactly concomitant with *legissent*.

8. *praeferri*: a dignity which the consuls did not enjoy in the city, by one of the laws referred to in 8. 2.—*essent*: characteristic subjunctive, explaining why one had a veto over the other.

9. *crediderant*, *had come to believe*; cf. Gr. 476.

10. *sererent*: from *sero*, *join*; cf. *serere* (*certamina*), I. 4, from *sero*, *sow*.

11. *actum est*: *i.e.* they did not refuse to discuss terms, and in fact would have made peace, if, etc.—

induxissent. Bellum indictum; tacitae indutiae quietum annum tenuere.

- 19 Consules Servius Sulpicius Manius Tullius; nihil dignum memoria actum; T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta, Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descendit. Nec ultra bellum Latinum gliscens iam per aliquot annos  
3 dilatum. Aulus Postumius dictator Titus Aebutius magister equitum magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini  
4 hostium occurrerunt; et quia Tarquinius esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit  
5 quin extemplo confligerent. Ergo etiam proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem adfuere, sed suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscuere certamina. Nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine vulnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit.  
6 In Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruenteque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit, ictusque

**bellum**: emphatic as opposed to **de pace** just considered. — **tacitae**: *i.e.* without any agreement on the subject, both parties refrained from beginning the war that year.

THE LATIN WAR. BATTLE OF  
LAKE REGILLUS.

19. **nihil**, etc.: as the work takes the form of annals, like all ancient history, every year must be accounted for. — **Vetusius**: by the change of *s* between two vowels to *r*, this name became afterwards *Veturius*; see Gr. 15. 4.

2. **gliscens**: cf. 18. 3. — **dilatum**: *i.e.* the Romans saw that the

Latins, whose discontent had been brewing ever since the weakening of the Romans after the expulsion of the Tarquins, must be met and conquered.

3. **lacum Regillum**: this locality, famous in song and story, must have been near Tusculum, perhaps a dozen miles from Rome, but can no longer be recognized, the lake having in course of time dried up.

4. **Tarquinius esse**: cf. 21. 5.

5. **etiam**: *i.e.* not only were they impatient to engage, but the battle itself was fiercer. — **non enim**, etc.: the famous battle had been worked over by poets and historians, till it

ab latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et 7  
ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octa-  
rium Mamilium impetum dederat, nec fefellit veniens  
Tusculanum ducem, contra quem et ille concitat equum :  
antaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit ut brachium 8  
Aebutio traiectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc 9  
quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere ; Aebutius  
tum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugna ex-  
cessit. Latinus dux nihil deterritus vulnere proelium 10  
ciet et, quia suos percussos videbat, arcessit cohortem  
exsulum Romanorum, cui Luci Tarquini filius praeerat.  
Ea, quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque  
ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis M. Va- 20  
lerius, Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem iuvenem  
Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exsulum acie, do-  
mestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cuius familiae decus 2  
eiecti reges erant, eiusdem interfecti forent, subdit cal-  
caria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tar- 3  
quinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti.  
Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem ex trans-  
verso quidam adortus transfigit ; nec quicquam equitis  
vulnere equo retardato moribundus Romanus labentibus  
super corpus armis ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postu- 4  
mius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter  
citato agmine inveni, suos percussos cedere animadver-

became a Homeric battlepiece with its heroic incidents.

7. *et, no less.* — *fefellit, escaped the notice of*, like the Greek *λανθάνω*.

10. *quo*: properly correlative with *eo* and another comparative, but here the omission of the second part gives it the meaning of *inasmuch*

*as*, an expression which has the same sort of origin.

20. *ab, on*, as so often. — *M. Valerius*: cf. 30. 5 n. — *Publicolae*: *i.e.* Publius; see 8. 1. — *domestica*: *i.e.* of his own family.

2. *eiecti, interfecti*: the familiar *ab urbe condita* construction. — *erant*: see Gr. 583.

5 tit, cohorti suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa  
circa se habebat, dat signum ut quem suorum fugien-  
tem viderint pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi  
6 a fuga Romani in hostem et restituta acies. Cohors  
dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit. Integris corpori-  
7 bus animisque fessos adorti exsules caedunt. Ibi alia  
inter procures coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi  
cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumven-  
tam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam  
8 aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Her-  
minius legatus conspicatus interque eos insignem veste  
armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi maiore quam  
paulo ante magister equitum cum hostium duce proe-  
9 lium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit  
Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis ve-  
ruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter  
10 primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dicta-  
tor advolat obtestans, ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex  
equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto parvare; desiliunt  
ex equis, provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis par-  
11 mas obiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies  
postquam iuventutis procures aequato genere pugnae  
secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum

5. *cohorti suae*: a body-guard, perhaps borrowed in the description from later times. — *ancipiti*: *i.e.* of the enemy in front, and their own troops behind.

7. *alia*: cf. 19. 6 and 7, and 20. 1. — *imperator*: Octavius Mamilius already *pectus percussus*; cf. 19. 8. — *subsidiariis*: the third line, according to later usage, and perhaps earlier also. It is impossible to tell what is true and what anachronistic.

8. *legatus*: here an officer with a special command; perhaps this also is anachronistic. — *magister*: cf. 19. 7.

9. *inter spoliandum*: see Gr. 506. N. 1.

10. *pro antesignanis*: see note to *subsidiariis*, 7. At any rate, the dismounted cavalry now formed the first line.

11. *iuventutis*: they were young men, sons of the first families (*procures*). — *tum demum*: *i.e.* then

impulsi Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti ad-<sup>12</sup>  
moti equi ut persequi hostem posset; secuta et pedes-  
tris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dic-  
tator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur, ac  
pronuntiasse militi praemia, qui primus, qui secundus  
castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardor fuit ut eodem<sup>13</sup>  
impetu quo fuderant hostem Romani castra caperent.  
Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dic-  
tator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem red-  
iere.

Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. Con-<sup>21</sup>  
sules Quintus Cloelius et T. Larcus, inde A. Sempro-  
nius et M. Minucius. His consulibus aedis Saturno<sup>2</sup>  
dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. Aulus de-  
inde Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc<sup>3</sup>  
demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quos-  
dam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei  
fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum.  
Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios ordi-<sup>4</sup>  
natis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum quos

it was (and not till then) that . . . first, etc.; cf. 21. 3 n.

12. *admoti*: i.e. their horses were brought to them by the attendants.

13. *eodem impetu*: i.e. no new formation and attack was necessary.

DEATH OF TARQUIN. OPPRESSION OF THE PLEBS.

21. 2. *Saturnalia*: in apposition with *dies*. — *festus dies*: the number of days was increased to three under Augustus, and later to five, beginning December 17. The festival was probably much older than this, but at this time some new rites may have been added.

3. *hoc demum anno*, not until

this year, the regular meaning of *demum* with a demonstrative word; cf. *tum demum*, 20, 11 n. — *dubiae fidei*: cf. *consulibus parum creditum sit*, 18. 4. — *se consulatu abdicasse*: this seems not to have been necessary (cf. 18. 5), but it might have happened in special cases, or the act may have been independent of the subsequent appointment.

4. *errores*: see Introduction, 7. — *implicant*: sc. the historian. — *aliter*, etc.: the succession of consuls was, no doubt, originally kept with the greatest care, but had been exposed to many causes of disturbance in the preserved accounts. — *qui consules*, etc., which followed

nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum, digerere possis.

- 5 Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio erecti patres, erecta plebes. Sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit laetitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inservitum
- 7 erat, iniuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. Eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta est. Romae tribus una et viginti factae. Aedes Mercuri dedicata est idibus Maiis.

- 22 Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax neque bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Ro-

*which.* — *auctorum*: ordinarily the antiquity of the authorities would be an assurance of correctness, but there had been so many causes of disturbance that Livy takes the view of the date of the battle given in chapter 19.

5. *Claudius*: cf. 16. 4. — *Servilius*: cf. I. 30. 2. — *hic annus*: B.C. 496. — *post fractas*, etc.: it is not necessary to suppose that the war was waged to restore the Tarquins, though this is stated by some of the ancient authorities. They might have fought on that side in the hope of being restored, and afterwards naturally fled to the next uninjured neighbor.

6. *luxuriosa*, *excessive*, properly, of a free and luxuriant growth. — *inservitum*: doubtless to secure their continued devotion to the republic, which was after all only an oligarchy. Of the three estates, king, lords, and commons, the com-

mons usually hold the balance of power, and are regularly used by one of the first two to crush the other.

7. *Signia*: cf. I. 56. 3. We must suppose the remnant of the colony driven out and again sent back with completed numbers. — *una et viginti*: i.e. four in the city (cf. I. 43. 13), sixteen outside (*rusticae*), and the *tribus Crustumina* besides. — *aedes Mercuri*: cf. 27. 5, where the same thing seems to be repeated.

#### WAR WITH THE VOLSCI. UNION WITH LATIUM.

22. *bello*: an ablative of time, the regular construction with such words. — *fuerat*: the author takes a new standpoint at the end of the Latin war, beginning with B.C. 495. — *comparaverant*: the reason why there was not peace. — *maturationum esset*: the apodosis is sufficiently suggested in *mitterent*,

mano esset, et maturavit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet. Hac ira consules in <sup>2</sup> Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii poenam non metuentes necopinata res perculit. Armorum immemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia liberos: ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec ita multo post Volscis levatis <sup>3</sup> metu suum rediit ingenium: rursus occultum parant bellum Hernicis in societatem armorum adsumptis; legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimit- <sup>4</sup> tunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos ira odioque eius, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit. Comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere. Ibi traditi consulibus, indicatumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Roma-

'they had got together forces to send (and would have sent), had not,' etc. — *maturavit*, etc.: the reason why there was not war, — the Romans were too quick for them.

2. *hac ira*: cf. I. 30. 4 n. Livy's account (cf. 21. 1) makes a four years' interval from the battle of Lake Regillus to these events. But he is evidently now following the other account to which he alludes (21. 3), and so connects the events immediately with the Latin war. — *consilii*, of their course; namely, in aiding the Latins. — *necopinata res*: i.e. as they had no fear of punishment, the sudden appearance of the Romans overwhelmed them. — *armorum immemores*, without thinking of resistance. — *Pometia*: this had been already destroyed, according to Livy's account (17. 6), but now reappears as a city of the Volsci; cf. 25. 6. — *a Cora*: cf. *ad Aricia*, I. 50. 3 n.

3. *nec*, and yet not. — *levatis*: as fear casts down, so freedom from it lifts up; cf. *perculit*, 2. — *suum* ... *ingenium*: i.e. their native warlike and hostile disposition, which had been held in check for the moment by their fear. — *occultum*: emphatic, as opposed to their open warfare before. — *Hernicis*: a mountain people counted as belonging to Latium, but not politically included with them.

4. *legatos*: emphatic, as opposed to their actual arrangement with the Hernici. — *quoque*: belonging to the whole sentence, but, as usual, placed after the emphatic word: 'they took in the Hernici, and sent also to Latium, but without success.' — *recens*, etc.: a somewhat confused way of saying that the Latins, from anger, etc., caused by the memory of the late disaster, did not refrain, etc.; the disaster itself being put for the Latins who were thinking of it.

5 nis. Relata re ad senatum adeo fuit gratum patribus  
 ut et captivorum sex milia Latinis remitterent, et de  
 foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem  
 6 ad novos magistratus reicerent. Enimvero tum Latini  
 gaudere facto; pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse.  
 Coronam auream Iovi donum in Capitolium mittunt.  
 Cum legatis donoque qui captivorum remissi ad suos  
 7 fuerant magna circumfusa multitudo venit. Pergunt do-  
 mos eorum apud quem quisque servierant, gratias agunt  
 liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate sua; inde hospitia  
 iungunt. Numquam alias ante publice privatimque La-  
 tinum nomen Romano imperio coniunctius fuit.

X 23 Sed et bellum Volscum imminabat et civitas secum  
 ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat  
 2 odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Fremere-

5. *relata*: the technical term for the act of the consuls consulting the senate as to the proper course of action; here *deferre* might be used, but it would mean only *report*, and not *consult*. — *fuit*: *sc.* the act of the Latins. — *captivorum*: the taking of these captives has not been mentioned, but whatever account Livy is following, the events occurred just after the Latin war, when the Romans might be supposed to have had prisoners. — *de foedere*: this has not been mentioned, and Livy is evidently following another, but not necessarily inconsistent account, as is seen by *servierant*, 7. — *fuerat*: see Gr. 495. N.; the auxiliary is here used with the classical force. — *reicerent*: at first sight not a concession, but it was something to allow the possibility of action on that point.

6. *enimvero*, really, you may be sure, or the like, the usual force of the word, introducing an important change in the situation. — *pacis*:

indicating that there was another party which favored war. — *qui*: the antecedent is in apposition with *multitudo*.

7. *servierant*: they had already been sold as slaves, which would agree with Livy's story; perhaps this is a part of his attempt to join the two accounts, a function that he often has to perform. — *habiti*, etc.: these words contain, in the form of a predicate participle, the cause of their gratitude. — *hospitia*: the peculiar ancient relation of semi-official friendship; cf. I. 45. 2 n.

#### DISCONTENT OF THE PLEBS.

23. *sed*: in opposition to the good fortune of the Latin alliance. — *bellum*: not as opposed to the Latin peace, which would be *Volscum bellum*, but as opposed to the domestic disturbances. — *flagrabat*, was ablaze, keeping the forcible figure. — *nexos*: the cause was really the state of things under which the oppression took place, but it is po-

se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi-  
 vibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello  
 in pace, et inter hostis quam inter cives liberta-  
 plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscen-  
 insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu 3  
 am cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in  
 m proiecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior 4  
 oris habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc  
 nissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris.  
 citabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines  
 isse aiebant, aliaque militiae decora vulgo mise-  
 es eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot  
 s pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat.  
 citantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum 5  
 umfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino  
 o ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri  
 fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta  
 ia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore im-

ly put as the cases of oppres-  
 which moved the people. The  
 ation was one in which the  
 or mortgaged his own person  
 the payment of a debt. The  
 of flesh of Shylock and the  
 ice of imprisonment for debt  
 istant echoes of the process.

**dimicantes**: it was while the  
 le were absent in military ser-  
 that the debts had opportunity  
 in up beyond their ability to

While they were away their  
 were not cultivated, and did  
 field the profits that were relied  
 o pay the debt; cf. 5, below.  
**invidiam**: the general odium  
 of the creditor class.

**magno**, etc.: the description of  
 manner in which the special **ca-**  
**tas** referred to became known.  
**signibus**: referring to the ap-

pearance of the man as given in  
 the next line.

4. **noscitabatur**: *i.e.* though thus  
 disfigured, he was generally recog-  
 nized. — **in, amid**, *i.e. in spite of*. —  
**ordines**, etc.: *i.e.* he had held the  
 post of centurion, the highest 'non-  
 commissioned' officer. — **alia de-**  
**cora**: *i.e.* military distinctions be-  
 sides the promotion, which was a  
 reward of prowess. — **ipse**: *i.e.*  
 others told his history, and he him-  
 self showed scars of honorable  
 wounds.

5. **habitus, condition**. — **defor-**  
**mitas, hideous appearance**. — **in**  
**contionis modum**: *i.e.* like a pub-  
 lic meeting called together by au-  
 thority. — **Sabino**: cf. ch. 16. —  
**tributum**: *i.e.* the war tax. — **suo**:  
 the emphasis is only the favorite one  
 upon pronouns; cf. the use of *ego* in

- 6 peratum, aes alienum fecisse. Id cumulatam usuris  
 primo se agro paterno avitque exuisse, deinde fortu-  
 nis aliis, postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus:  
 ductum se ab creditore non in servitium sed in ergastu-  
 7 lum et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foe-  
 dum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa audi-  
 taque clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus  
 8 continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi vincti  
 solutique se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant  
 Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis volunta-  
 rius comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias  
 9 cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo  
 suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in eam turbam inci-  
 10 derunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere con-  
 sules P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius ad comprimendam  
 seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa  
 11 ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. Haec se  
 meritos dicere exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi

colloquial language where we should not consider it emphatic.

6. *tabem*: *i.e.* like a spreading disease, as we should say 'a cancer.'  
 — *pervenisse*: literally, the debt.  
 — *ad corpus*: *i.e.* he had been obliged to borrow money on the *nexus* obligation, as above described.  
 — *ductum*, etc.: *i.e.* upon non-pay-  
 ment the creditor had taken him, ac-  
 cording to the contract, as a slave.

7. *verberum*: inflicted on him as a slave. — *foro*: where it began.

8. *vincti solutique*: both those who had already been taken and those who were only under the obligation. — *Quiritium fidem*: the usual cry of a Roman citizen to his countrymen for help, like 'Citizens to the rescue.' Cf. *di vestram fidem*.  
 — *voluntarius*: *i.e.* volunteers to join the uprising, implying those

who had no similar cause of complaint.

10. *nec, nor*, which in English is often used like the Latin word *for* and *in fact* . . . *not*. 'Any senator who happened there was in peril of his life, and they would have suffered, had not,' etc. — *manibus, acts of violence* (ablative). — *at in eos*, etc.: *i.e.* in spite of the reverence for authority which kept the mob from violence towards them, the rioters addressed them with reproaches and threats rather than supplications. — *aliam*: *i.e.* such as the emaciation and pallor, marks of blows, and the like.

11. *haec se meritos*, *that this was their reward*, for their services in such and such a battle (*alios alibi*). — *dicere*: historical infinitive. — *exprobrantes*, *telling, with*

iam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam super ut senatum vocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsistunt. admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam arcebat. Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam posset senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multi putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules tergiversari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miseras suas. prope erat ut ne consulum quidem maiestas cogeret iras hominum, cum incerti morando an veni plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum eunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter eos sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulum rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto tutos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, consilios animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius facilius esse.

*reproach, of.* The word is like our colloquial 'fling in the face.' — *multo*, etc.: notice the emphasis is distributed by artificial interlocking of the words; cf. Gr. 598. *e.* — *curiam*, i.e. ready for the meeting, in order to influence the deliberations. — *pauci*, only a few, with the negative meaning of the word. — *quos casus*, etc.: i.e. those who were caught, as it were by the authorities, could be brought together. — *infrequentiam*, the want of a quorum; a later usage ascribed by Livy to these early

the narrative. — *eludi*: the proper meaning of the word to *dodge*, in fencing, is here felt through the figurative one of to *mock*. — *extrahi*, put off. — *tergiversari*, were playing a double part, turning the back first one way and then another.

14. *iam*: compare the progressive force of this word with that of the instantaneous *tum*. — *coerceat*, could restrain, a force given by the imperfect; see Gr. 471. *f.* — *incerti*: sc. the absent senators. — *non modo*, etc.: see Gr. 149. *e.* — *satis conveniebat*, was there any harmony.

*tum vero*: in its regular use to denote a decisive point in

15. *vehementis*: opposed to *lenibus*. — *imperio*: i.e. by the energetic exercise of authority.

24 Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita — adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat — longe aliter patres ac plebem adfecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes, ultores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos. Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent; cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli penes quos praemia essent. At vero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis, metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti sese quicquam; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta, arma pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus satis decorum

## ALARM OF A VOLSCIAN WAR.

24. *alius*, from another quarter. — *adeo*: with its customary reference to the context. — *longe aliter*, with far different feelings.

2. *ultores*: cf. *di regum ultores*. 6. 7. — *confirmare*, exhorted; properly, confirmed each other in their purpose. — *perituros*: an indicative clause in the direct, 'they would.' — *militarent*: a hortatory clause, 'they should.'

4. *in contionem*: to address the people. — *curae esse*: *i.e.* that they had it on their minds, and were engaged in finding measures of relief. — *maxima quidem illa*:

the usual order *illa quidem* is reversed because the real emphasis is on *maxima*. — *parte*: only a part.

5. *posse*: emphatic, 'it was impossible.' — *praeverti*: active deponent, 'take up . . . before.' — *si sit*, etc.: *i.e.* in case they should first find measures of relief, it would not be honorable for the plebs to refuse to take arms without first receiving the relief as a bounty. — *cepisse*: looking forward to the completion of the transaction, and thinking how it would seem then. — *neque*: really a double negative, but Livy has forgotten the *aut*,

per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate adflictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde 6 edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet, liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto 7 et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum retinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque 8 aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit, parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

Proxima inde nocte Volsci discordia Romanâ freti, 25 si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri posset, temptant castra. Sensere vigiles, excitatus exercitus, signo dato concursus est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum 2 Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum.

and proceeds as if the word were opposed to *nec*. — *voluntate*: opposed to *per metum*, but standing in a slightly different relation.

6. *contioni*: here his address, as often. — *edicto*: really a stay of proceedings in cases of debt while the men were in service. — *nominis edendi*: another form of the technical phrase for enlistment; cf. *nomina darent*, 2. — *possideret*: the technical phrase for taking possession under process of law. — *liberos nepotesve*: these also were the property of the *paterfamilias*, and followed his property and person.

7. *qui aderant*: those who had escaped. — *profiteri*: cf. *dare* and *edere* above, in the same sense. —

*undique*: others who now followed the example of the first. — *sacramento*: the oath of enlistment, which was dictated (*rogare*), and according to which the soldier spoke his obligatory promise.

8. in *Volsco bello*: cf. *Latino bello*, 22. 1, where the idea of time predominates, while here the circumstances are the main thing.

#### ENGAGEMENT WITH THE VOLSCI.

25. *transitio*: i.e. desertion of some part of the disaffected forces. — *posset*: see Gr. 576. a. — *sensere*: sc. the attempt. — *concursum est*: i.e. on the part of the Romans.

2. *ita*: i.e. as the whole army was aroused, there was no oppor-

Postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis vallum invadunt. Iamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique ut signum daret clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdatis, cum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur, captum praedae datum. Inde paulum recreatus egens miles. Consul cum maxima gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

tunity for the expected treachery of a part.

3. **munimenta**: *i.e.* the palisades of which the Roman camp was regularly made. — **vellebantur**: see Gr. 471. *c.* — **cum . . . emittit**: see Gr. 546. *a.* This sentence is a good example of the so-called artificial period, in which, however, the emphasis of position is so preserved that the artificiality is only one of grammar and not of idea. It may be analyzed thus: 'The Volsci were in the act of gaining the wall, then (at which time) the consul (began) — to be sure everybody, and especially the supposed disaffected, were clamorous — but he wanted to see how they felt, and so for awhile he stopped — but then it became clear that their spirit was intense — and then he gave the sig-

nal, and the soldiers, eager for the contest, were let loose.' — **apparēbat**: see Gr. 543. *a.* The continuance of the action which occasions the imperfect lies in the gradual perception of the state of things on the part of the consul; it can be rendered in English by *began* to or the like.

4. **pedes . . . eques**: the order of antithesis is chiasmic. — **pavidos, in their panic**. — **etiam**: emphasizing *inde*.

5. **ad Suessam**: see Gr. 428. *a.* — **Pometiam**: cf. 16, 8 and 22. 2 n. — **inde recreatus**: *i.e.* the booty relieved the poverty of the soldiers.

6. **decedentem**: later the technical expression for a magistrate leaving his province. — **Ecetranorum**: a branch of the Volsci; their

confestim et Sabini Romanos territa<sup>v</sup>ere, — tumultus 26  
 fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte in urbem nuntia-  
 est exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem  
 em pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi vil-  
 Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum 2  
 Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus  
 ul Servilius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque 3  
 ntes eques circumvenit; nec advenienti peditum  
 ini restitit Sabina legio: fessi cum itinere tum po-  
 tione nocturnā, magna pars in villis repleti cibo  
 que, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere.  
 nocte una audito perfecto<sup>q</sup>ue bello Sabino, postero 4  
 in magna iam spe undique partae pacis legati Au-  
 ri senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum  
 centes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum 5  
 o profectus erat. Cuius fama haud procul iam ab  
 ia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec con-  
 ordine patres, nec pacatum responsum arma infe-  
 ribus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam 6

of abode is uncertain. — **ex-  
 tus consulto**: the senate was  
 ody that decided questions of  
 gn affairs.'

#### INE AND AURUNCAN WARS.

**enim**: introducing the rea-  
 or saying **territa<sup>v</sup>ere**. — **tu-  
 us**: an almost technical word  
 sudden alarm of war without  
 r preparation therefor, whether  
 comes serious later or not. —  
**hem**: see Gr. 363. 1.

**Postumius**: apparently as a  
 s; one consul may have re-  
 ed in the city on account of  
 reatening aspect of domestic  
 s. — **dictator**: see 21. 3.

**palantes**: in their predatory  
 sions. — **legio**: opposed chi-

astically to **plerosque**, the main  
 body to the outlying parties. —  
**magna pars**: limiting apposition  
 with **fessi**; **repleti**, though really  
 referring only to **pars**, resumes the  
 original number and gender.

4. **partae pacis**: the often cited  
 participial construction, Gr. 497; *i.e.*  
 they hoped 'that peace had been  
 secured.' — **ni decedatur**: see Gr.  
 592. 2; 'they said there would be  
 war unless,' etc.

5. **Arícia**: only a few miles from  
 Rome, on the Appian Way, and thus  
 well within the bounds of Latium.  
 — **consuli ordine**, etc.: *i.e.* to have  
 a regular meeting of the senate in  
 reference to the embassy. — **paca-  
 tum responsum**: *i.e.* if the senate  
 had been consulted, could they,

infesto agmine itur, nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa conlata proelioque uno debellatum est.

- 27 Fusis Auruncis victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus exspectabat, cum Appius, et insita superbia animo et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat ius de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexi fuerant  
 2 creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. Concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum aut ut auxilio  
 3 esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec; sed tergiversari res cogeat: adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec ple-  
 4 bis vitavit odium, nec apud patres gratiam iniit: patres

under the circumstances, treat of peace?

6. *debellatum est, the war was finished.*

#### RENEWED UNEASINESS OF THE PLEBS.

27. *Romanus: i.e. the plebs. — exspectabat, were waiting the fulfilment of. — cum . . . dicere: cf. 25. 3.* The historical infinitive with *cum* is justified by the nature of the clause, which, though grammatically dependent, is really the main clause (*cum inversum*): but we have here the first step towards the somewhat freer (but never common) use of the historical infinitive in dependent clauses, found in later writers, especially Tacitus. — *et . . . et*: giving the two causes, — one his native arrogance, the other jealousy of his colleague. — *ius . . . dicere: i.e. in his decisions of cases brought be-*

fore him, which served as precedents for others (*deinceps*). — *tradebantur: i.e. those who had enjoyed temporary freedom by the suspension of legal process. — nectebantur: i.e. those who had not been proceeded against before.*

2. *appellabat*: according to the Roman polity, each colleague had a veto on the acts of the others. This is the first mention of the appeal to this right, though it is alluded to in 18. 8. — *conkursus: i.e. of the partisans of the arrested men. — illius*: representing the emphasis upon *tu* used in their appeal. — *exprobrabant*: cf. 23. 11. — *belli: i.e. the last war. — referret ad senatum: i.e. for general relief. — auxilio, etc.: i.e. at least interfere in these special cases.*

3. *tergiversari*: cf. 23. 13 n. — *adeo: i.e. that he was compelled, etc. — medium*: see Gr. 290. —

mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem ;  
 brevisque apparuit adaequasse eum Appii odium. Cer- 5  
 tamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercuri  
 aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit : utri  
 eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum praeesse  
 annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro  
 pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis 6  
 dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni ; quod facile ap-  
 pareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior  
 fastigio suo data esset, factum quam ad consulum igno-  
 miniam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque, 7  
 sed plebi creverant animi, et longe alia quam primo in-  
 stituerant via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum 8  
 senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent,  
 undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consu-  
 lis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decres-  
 set, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque 9

*nec plebis*, etc.: notice the combination of chiasmic and parallel order.

4. *mollem*, weak, what we call 'lacking backbone.' — *ambitiosum*: i.e. seeking to curry favor with the *plebs*, the prevalent meaning of the word; cf. *ambitiose*, I. 35. 2. — *adaequasse*, etc.: cf. *navium cursum adaequarunt*, Caes. B. G. V. 8. 4.

5. *Mercuri*, etc.: see 21. 7, where the temple has already been mentioned. — *senatus a se*, etc.: probably not wishing to decide between two such powerful claimants. — *praeesse*, etc.: i.e. to perform the functions later performed by the aediles or by a *praefectus annonae* (cf. IV. 12. 8), — by the latter regularly from the time of Augustus. — *mercatorum*, etc.: the first mention of the great religious guilds. To this one, probably consisting chiefly

of grain merchants, was assigned the charge of the cult of Mercury. — *pro pontifice*: this ought to mean *on behalf of*, etc., but in accordance with the ritual (see 8. 7), the magistrate could hardly be said to act in that capacity; the meaning is doubtful.

6. *appareret*: for mood, see Gr. 446. — *curatio*, a function, a matter to take care of.

7. *utique*: i.e. whatever their state of mind had been before. — *sed*, etc.: i.e. but it was of no use; the *plebs* had become emboldened and were not to be put down, but openly resorted to violence.

8. *vidissent*: the subjunctive of repeated action; see Gr. 518. c; so also *decresset*. — *exaudiri*: implying that he tried to make himself heard.

9. *metus*, etc.: i.e. the danger was to the creditors (of being seized

omnis et periculum libertatis, cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectoque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet; non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam, neque proiectum consulare imperium: se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit. Nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore: adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

and maltreated) rather than the debtors. — **in conspectu**: *i.e.* it showed the danger when the highest magistrate had no power to restrain the mob, and the single patrician creditor was attacked by many at once. — **verterant**: intransitive; cf. 8. 1 n.

10. **super haec**, on the top of all this. — **nomen dedit**: cf. 24. 2, 6. — **populari**: the same as *ambitiosus*; cf. 4, above. — **silentio**, inactivity, in that he refused to judge debtors, or join with his colleague in ordering the levy. — **dixisset**: informal indirect discourse; see Gr. 592. 3.

11. **non esse**: emphatic, it was not (as they supposed).

12. **cotidiana**, the usual, those who came every day. — **licentia**, lawlessness. — **seditionum**: the plural, because each case of refusal was a mutiny. — **provocavit**: *i.e.* from the consul to his peers, the people; cf. 8. 2 n. — **nec**, and yet . . . not, though the appeal was a sacred right. — **populi**: *i.e.* the plebs would have a majority in the assembly. — **auctoritate**, influence. — **adeo**: *i.e.* to such a degree as to disregard the sacred right. — **ad sustinendam**: *i.e.* he was not abashed by the popular odium.

13. **secessione**: *i.e.* secret conclave; cf. 28. 1, below. — **Servilius neutris**: cf. 3, above.

1. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. 28  
 n vero plebs, incerta quales habitura consules esset,  
 us nocturnos, pars Esquiliis pars in Aventino, fa-  
 e, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia  
 ere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut 2  
 , perniciosam ad patres deferunt, sed delatam con-  
 re ordine non licuit: adeo tumultuose excepta est  
 noribus undique et indignatione patrum, si, quod  
 erio consulari exsequendum esset, invidiam eius  
 sules ad senatum reicerent. Profecto, si essent in 3  
 publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romae  
 publicum concilium: nunc in mille curias contio- 4  
 que, cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant  
 cilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam.  
 am hercule virum,— id enim plus esse quam consu-  
 , — qualis Appius Claudius fuerit, momento tempo-

INCREASED ACTIVITY OF THE  
 PLEBS.

1. **Vetusius**: cf. 19. 1 n. — **tum**: cf. 23. 13 n. — **quales**: *i.e.* in political tendencies. — **coe**: cf. *secessione*, 27. 13. — **Esqui**: construed like the name of *awn*, doubtless because it is a *dwelling* and represents a quarter (see 1. 3 n.). Livy's practice, how-  
 is not consistent; cf. *in Esqui*-  
 n 4, below. — **ne in foro**, etc.: they organize and consult upon a  
 of action, so as not to be taken  
 ares, just as in modern times  
 ares are discussed in caucus.  
**deferunt**: here hardly differ-  
 from *referre*; cf. *relata*, 22.  
 — **ordine**: *i.e.* in the regular  
 ner, whereby the senators were  
 d their opinion on a definite  
 osition; cf. 26. 5. — **tumultu**-  
*i.e.* when the facts were an-  
 nced there was a general out-  
 and the body did not wait to

follow its regular course of pro-  
 ceedings. — **indignatione**, *expres-*  
*sions of indignation*. — **si**, etc.:  
 depending on an *indignum esse*  
 implied in *indignatione*: cf. I. 47.  
 6, and Gr. 592. 2. — **imperio**: cf.  
 23. 15. — **esset**: representing *erat*  
 of the direct discourse; cf. Gr. 522.  
 a. — **invidiam**: to suppress the un-  
 authorized assemblies would be an  
 unpopular measure, the odium of  
 which (they said) ought to have  
 been borne by the consuls. — **rei-**  
**cerent**: cf. 27. 5.

3. **essent**: condition contrary to  
 fact; see Gr. 517. a. For the or-  
 der, see Gr. 598. d (2). — **futurum**  
**fuisse**: see Gr. 589. b. N. 1. — **pub-**  
**licum**: *i.e.* the recognized official  
 assemblies.

4. **nunc**, *but now (as it was)*. —  
**rem publicam**: *i.e.* the govern-  
 ment of the state. — **id**: referring  
 loosely to **virum**, to be a *real*  
*man*.

- 5 ris discussurum illos coetus fuisse. Correpti consules, cum, quid ergo se facere vellent, nihil enim segnius molliusve quam patribus placeat acturos, percunctarentur, decernunt ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant; 6 otio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare ultra decipi plebem posse; numquam unum militem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica; libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro 8 dominis pugnent. Consules quid mandatum esset a senatu videbant, sed eorum qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur neminem adesse invidiae suae participem; et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. 9 Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum prope

5. **correpti**: *i.e.* feeling rebuked. — **vellent** . . . **placeat**: see Gr. 585. *b. N.* — **decernunt**: *sc.* the senate. — **acerrimum**: a word often applied to a levy without the allowance of excuses, and rigidly enforced.

6. **tribunal**: a raised platform in the Forum, where magistrates exercised their functions. — **citant**: as opposed to the general order, to which ordinarily the people would respond by giving in their names (*nomina dare*). Here they are individually summoned. — **contionis**: *i.e.* the crowd was like a general meeting of the people summoned by a magistrate. — **negare**: this word, in its emphatic position, represents an emphatic negative; cf. *non*, 23. 7, and *nunquam* below.

7. **unum**: emphatic, *a single*. — **praestaretur**: for *praestetur* of the *direct*.

8. **quid**, etc.: a good example of the variable order (and emphasis) of the Latin. If **videbant** had come first, as it well might, the sense would be 'they were well aware, but did not act in accordance with the knowledge.' Here it is, 'they knew the orders of the senate as a body, but they also saw that no one of the senators themselves came personally to bear the brunt of the fight.' — **suae**: *i.e.* of the consuls. Politics were much the same in ancient as in modern times, and our newspapers are as good a comment on Livy's account as could be desired. — **et apparebat**: the connection of thought is, 'and there was good reason why they did not show themselves, for in fact it was evident that there would be a violent contest with the lower orders.'

9. **itaque**: in Livy often in the second place. — **ultima**, *extrem*

convolvere minimus quisque natu patrum abdicare consulum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

Vtraque re satis experta tum demum consules: 'Ne 29 praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut ii qui maxime ignaviam increpant adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.' Redeunt 2 in tribunal, citari nominatim unum ex his qui in conspectu erant dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo 3 repulso tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes qui patrum consulibus aderant devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam 4

*measures*, which were likely to lead to armed collision. — *sellas*: *i.e.* in the senate. — *prope*: *i.e.* there was not quite a turbulent mob round the chairs of the consuls, but it was not far from that. Some editions have *propere*, which certainly makes good sense. — *convolvere*: cf. 27. 8. — *minimus*: *i.e.* the younger, and so at the same time less cautious and more arrogant.

#### CONTINUED RESISTANCE OF THE PLEBS.

29. *utraque*: *i.e.* both to hold a levy by force, and to appeal to the senate. — *tum demum*: it was only then, after having tried both courses, that the consuls stood upon their own defence and demanded the help of the 'sidewalk committee.' — *ne . . . negetis*: see Gr. 532. — *adsint*: with its usual meaning of being present to assist; cf. the English 'stand by.' — *cuiusque*: *i.e.* we will take as active measures as the most violent de-

sires, since that is your pleasure, if you will stand by us.

2. *citari*, etc.: *i.e.* they purposely (*dedita opera*) take some one at hand, in order to make a test case. — *tacitus*: cf. *nemo responderet*, 28. 6. — *lictorem*: the regular instrument of the magistrate, like a constable, sheriff, or marshal.

3. *quo repulso*: this was an overt act of rebellion. — *qui*, etc.: *i.e.* those who had responded to the call of the consuls to stand by them.

4. *lictore*, etc.: *i.e.* the officer of the law received no violence, being only prevented from arresting his man, but towards the assisting party the people were not so moderate, and proceeded to attack them. This encounter was stopped by the consuls, though after all (*tamen*) the moderation of the people showed itself by the fact that no real violence was used, not a stone, nor a deadly weapon, only angry abuse and fisticuffs, which Livy implies in

- prendere prohibito, cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercurso rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam  
 5 iniuriæ fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis  
 6 magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit.  
 7 Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non vulgabat: de iis tantum, qui fidem secuti Publi Servili consulis Vulsco, Aurunco, Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum  
 8 censebat. Titus Larcus non id tempus esse ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse nisi omnibus consulatur;

plus, etc. — nihil aliud: see Gr. 390. c.

5. *tumultuose*: a kind of play on the word. The first time it means hastily, without the usual formalities, as in a *tumultus*; the second time it refers to the disorder in the meeting, which was a *tumultus* (cf. 28. 2 n). — *quaestionem*: i.e. an investigation and consequent punishment of the rioters. The latter had maltreated senators and resisted officials in the discharge of their duties. — *decernente*, etc.: i.e. the violent members voted not so much by the orderly expression of their *sententiae* as by a disorderly clamor, impliedly in favor of the investigation.

6. *exprobrantibus*, etc.: indicating what brought the angry senators to their senses, the taunting accusation that they were as mad as the populace. — *coepit* (see Gr. 205. a): Weissenborn acutely remarks that *coeptum est* would refer to the action proceeding from the consuls,

whereas this means that the senate itself came to order. Perhaps all Livy's violations of the rule of *coepit* and *coeptum est* can be explained in like manner.

7. *sententiae*: the senators gave their opinions in order as called upon, either proposing some new course or agreeing with some one who had already spoken. In this case there were three different views, with which the others agreed according to their character and disposition. — *rem non vulgabat*: i.e. he proposed that the relief should not be made *general*, but only apply strictly to those who had acted on the promise given, evidently a middle course. The imperfect (generally conative) with a negative usually has a force expressed in English by 'would' or 'could'; here it means 'was not disposed to,' and so 'advised not to'; cf. *decernente*, 5.

8. *merita*, etc.: i.e. that it wasn't merely a matter of rewarding ser-

quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura immitis et 9 efferatus hinc plebis odio illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascivire magis plebem quam saevire. Id adeo malum 10 ex provocatione natum: quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos qui una peccaverint, provocare liceat. 'Agedum' inquit 'dictatorem, a quo pro- 11 vocatio non est, creemus! Iam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticescet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, 12 qui sciet ius de tergo vitæ sue penes unum illum esse cuius maiestatem violarit.'

Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appi sententia; 30 rursus Vergini Larcique exemplo haud salubres, utique Larcii putabant sententiam, quæ totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium Verginii habebatur; sed factione 2 rerum privatarum, quæ semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit ut dicta-

vices, but a deep-seated evil was to be removed.—*demersam*, *swamped*, 'over head and ears in.'—*sisti*: *i.e.* there could be no solid ground to stand on, no stable equilibrium.—*quin*, *in fact*.—*alia*, etc.: the distinction made would only breed discontent.

9. *efferatus*, *maddened*; used of the momentary state of his mind as opposed to his native disposition.—*plebis*: subjective genitive.—*lascivire*: the effect of *licentia*; *saevire*: the effect of *miseriis*.

10. *id adeo*, etc.: *i.e.* that was just the effect of the appeal allowed, just what was to be expected.—*minas*, etc.: *i.e.* it was only an empty threat if it did not take immediate effect without appeal, inasmuch as the people would clear the offender.

12. *pulset*: *i.e.* if he dares, a sarcastic exhortation.—*de tergo vitæ*: *i.e.* to dispose of by flogging and beheading.

#### APPOINTMENT OF A DICTATOR. OUTBREAK OF WAR.

30. *ut erat*: cf. 28. 2.—*rursus*, *on the other hand*.—*exemplo* (ablative of specification): *i.e.* it would encourage such uprisings in future.—*utique*: *i.e.* however it might be with the other one.—*quæ*, *one which*.—*fidem*, etc.: *i.e.* destroyed credit by removing the security for loans.—*utroque*, *in both respects*, as a precedent and as a conciliatory measure.

2. *factione*: *i.e.* the influence of his partisans; cf. 27. 3.—*rerum*: *i.e.* those of the creditors.—*ac*, and even.

- 3 tor ille idem crearetur, quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequique et  
 4 Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperium suo vehemens, mansueto permetteretur ingenio. M. Valerium dictatorem, Volesi filium, creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, cum provocacionem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec  
 5 superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos Servili fere consulis edicto conveniens. Sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi  
 7 omissio certamine nomina dedere. Quantus numquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus.  
 8 Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Aequi Latinum agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant ut aut mitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est. Is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Aequi campis, locoque magis quam armis freti  
 10 summis se iugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in

3. *utique*: *i.e.* and that the election of Appius, at any rate, etc., however the other course might turn out. — *periculosissimo*: the position and connection give the force, 'and it would have been a most dangerous time too.'

4. *sed*: referring back to *prope fuit*, etc. — *ut*, etc.: *i.e.* that the office naturally tending to forcible measures should be entrusted to a man of the opposite character.

5. *M. Valerium*: see chapters 16 and 20. There is an inconsistency in the account, because this man was said to be killed at the battle of

Lake Regillus. — *fratris*: P. Valerius Publicola. — *triste*, *harsh*.

6. *deinde*: first they were reassured by the character of the man's family, and then by his proclamation. — *melius*: than to contend with violence.

7. *quantus*: its antecedent, *tantus exercitus*, would be in apposition with *legiones*. — *inde*: see Gr. 321. a.

8. *capere arma*: the Latins are here represented as denied the power of making war.

9. *is*: the regular agreement (attraction) with the predicate; it re-

os profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vastandis  
 ne agris hostem ad conferenda propius castra dimi-  
 umque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo ante 11  
 quisque vallum infestis signis constitere. Multi-  
 e aliquantum Volsci superabant. Itaque effusi et  
 mptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec pro- 12  
 : aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus defixis pilis  
 suos iussit; ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum  
 os tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et 13  
 ore fessi cum se velut stupentibus metu intulis-  
 Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex ad-  
 factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus  
 si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga;  
 : ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in  
 ium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae 14  
 i steterant, vigentes corporibus facile adepti fessos  
 astra impetu ceperunt, et castris exutum hostem  
 ras persecuti uno agmine victores cum victis in  
 n inrupere. Plusque ibi sanguinis promiscua om- 15  
 generum caede quam in ipsa dimicatione factum.  
 s data venia, qui inermes in deditionem vene-

m haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi 37

the fact of the sending of  
 sul.

tipse: as the other was forced  
 y the tactics of the Aequi.

effusi: *i.e.* in detachments,  
 a solid body. Having the  
 f an adverb, it is correlated  
 contemptim.

defixis: *i.e.* like stacked arms  
 ern times. — ad manum, *to*  
*quarters*. — gladiis: instead  
 ing their javelins as soon as  
 emy came within shot; see

13. *impressionem, resistance*, a  
 force meeting their onslaught. —  
*cursu, on the run*, and so became  
 too fatigued to run away even.

14. *Velitras*: the Volsci fled to  
 their walled city, but the enemy en-  
 tered with them and captured the  
 city.

15. *plus sanguinis factum*: as  
 if it were *caedes*, for which *sanguis*  
*nis* is a poetic variation. — *om-*  
*nium generum*: armed and un-  
 armed, old and young, men and  
 women.

- longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque, exuit cas-  
 2 tris. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium  
 aciem, qua, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte  
 introrsum ordinibus aciem firmaverant; turbatos pedes  
 invasit. Eodem impetu castra cāpta debellatumque est.  
 3 Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis  
 pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem inve-  
 hitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi poste-  
 risque ad spectaculum datus, sella in eo loco curulis  
 4 posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus, Ve-  
 litras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum  
 Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est invito quidem con-  
 5 sule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed  
 milites extrahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam  
 ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret inritaque, sicut  
 ante consulis, promissa eius caderent, perpulere ut forte  
 6 temere in adversos montis agmen erigeret. Id male  
 commissum ignavia hostium in bonum vertit, qui, pri-  
 usquam ad coniectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audacia

WAR WITH THE VOLSCI. RE-  
 NEWAL OF CIVIL STRIFE.

31. fuerat: in reference to the time of fundit.

2. turbaverat: in reference to invasit; cf. preceding note. — pandunt: see Gr. 556. — parum, etc.: the centre had a thinner formation, because the rear lines of troops had been used to extend the wings. — turbatos, *being thus in disorder*. — eodem impetu: cf. 30. 14. — debellatum: cf. 26. 6.

3. urbem: see Gr. 388. *b. n.* — invehitur: *i.e.* in the triumphal chariot; a detail thrown in to give liveliness. — solitos: these were the recording of his name in the *Annales*, and the right to the *toga picta* and *tunica palmata*. — locus:

a permanent seat secured at the games, according to Greek custom. No other example of this is mentioned in Roman history.

4. et colonia deducta: these words, perhaps a gloss, would be in themselves sufficient, but the preceding clause no doubt has reference to the relief afforded to the colonists by being sent, and also to the fact that they were *cives Romani*, who had special privileges. — Aequis: cf. 30. 9. — quidem: corresponding to sed.

5. promissa, etc.: see 24. 6 and 30. 6. — forte temere: a double expression for the same thing, the inconsiderate attack.

6. male commissum, *unwise measure*; cf. bene factum and the

anorum relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuelocis, in aversas valles desiluire; ubi satis praedae ictoria incruenta fuit.

a trifariam re bello bene gesta de domesticarum 7  
m eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat:  
a cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant faeneratores  
non modo plebem sed ipsum etiam dictatorem fru-  
entur. Namque Valerius post Vetusi consulis redi- 8  
omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro  
ore populo, rettulitque, quid de nexis fieri placeret.  
e cum reiecta relatio esset, 'Non placeo' inquit 9  
cordiae auctor. Optabitis, me dius fidius, prope-  
ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat.  
d ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos, 10  
ne ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae,  
um externum fecere ut hoc magistratu egeret res  
ica; pax foris parta est, domi impeditur: privatus  
is quam dictator seditioni interero.' Ita curia  
ssus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, 11

- **aversas**: cf. *adversos montes* as the position was up-hill as the Romans advanced, so the valere down-hill in the rear of equi. — **ubi**: loosely used of camp and the valleys at once. — **trifariam**: with the Aequi, Umbines, and the Volsci. — **gratiae**: personal influence; **arte**: secret nations. — **quae**, means to. — **actionum**, questions, about the senate. — **re**: i.e. by whose prowess they had been gained. — **quid** **aceret**: the standing formula presenting a question. — **reiecta**: i.e. the senate declined to entertain the proposition: consul recommended in his; cf. *reicerent*, 22. 5. — **non** **o**: the emphasis gives a force

which we get by using *it seems or forsooth*. — **mei similes**: i.e. instead of the much more dangerous ones that they will have.

10. **quod ad me**, etc.: as if he said, 'but that is your affair; as for myself, I will,' etc. — **frustra**: a play on the kindred words. — **discordiae**, etc.: i.e. there were two purposes for which a dictator was needed, to remove civil strife and to carry on war; the latter has been accomplished, the former is hindered (as he implies) by the machinations of citizens, so that the dictator is powerless. — **interero**: not, of course, as a promoter, but to quell it.

11. **apparuit**: notice the emphasis, and see *itaque* below. — **causa**: the reason of his action explained by the following clause. — **plebi**:

suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse; itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

- 32 Timor inde patres incessit ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitata dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. Trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum.
- 3 Ea frequentior fama est quam cuius Piso auctor est, in
- 4 Aventinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot

dative. — *suam vicem, on their behalf.* — *persoluta fide, having performed his promise.* — *per eum, etc., it had not been his fault.* — *praestaretur:* he was held free from the obligation of his promise, though that promise had not been performed, the failure being no fault of his.

#### SECESSION OF THE PLEBS.

32. *dimissus, disbanded.* In those times the army did not continue in service, but was called out for a campaign and then disbanded. — *quamquam, etc.:* this appears to be put in by Livy, as so many other details, to explain and connect the meagre accounts of the *annals*. Other authorities represent

only the army of the consuls as retained in service, in which case this explanation is unnecessary. — *in consulum verba:* because it was they who had held the levy ordered by the dictator. — *per causam, on the pretext;* cf. I. 49. 5. — *maturata:* brought to a head.

2. *de consulum caede:* as if, by their death, the oath of obedience to them would be annulled. — *religionem, religious duty.*

3. *frequentior, more commonly reported,* by more authorities. — *cuius, the one of which.* — *Piso:* see Intr. 6.

4. *rem nullam, etc.:* i.e. without any lawless violence, indicating the peaceable character of the movement.

dies neque lacesiti neque lacescentes sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe metuque mutuo suspensa erant 5 omnia. Timere relictā ab suis plebes violentiam patrum, timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti manere eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum exsistat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam 7 ducere; eam per aequa per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Sic placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti, 8 Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.

Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo 9 in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspi- 10 rasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde ap- 11 paruisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem.

5. *mutuo*: between the two parties in the city.

6. *fore*: see Gr. 586.

7. *ducere*: historical infinitive. — *per aequa*, etc.: *i.e.* by whatever measures, whether they were just to themselves or not, hence at any cost.

8. *inde*: *i.e.* *ex plebe*. — *nihil aliud*: *sc. fecisse*, a common ellipsis.

— *narrasse*: this apologue is a commonplace in literature; cf. Xen. *Mem.* II. 3. 18; Cic. *de Off.* III. 5. 22; St. Paul, *Corinth.* I. 12. 21.

10. *hac ira*: cf. I. 30. 4 n. — *una*, *as well*; properly, 'along with.'

- 12 Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.
- 33 Agi deinde de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui
- 2 patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Ii tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisse seditionis auctorem; de duobus qui fuerint minus convenit.
- 3 Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consulatum inierant. Iis consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit; alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque, compulsos in oppidum

5 Longulam persecutus moenibus potitur. Inde protinus Poluscam item Volscorum cepit, tum magna vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores iuve-

12. *comparando*, showing by comparison; see Gr. 507. ftm.

#### RECONCILIATIONS OF THE ORDERS. TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

33. *concessum* in: as they yielded on each side and adopted terms, they may be said to have given way 'into' them. — *sacrosancti*, inviolable; protected by religious obligation as sacred functionaries. — *latio*: cf. *ferre auxilium*, which came to be used as the technical expression for remedial interference against legal or magisterial action.

2. *creati*: by what form of election is not known; cf. 58. 1 n. — *creaverunt*: perhaps by appointment; cf. 58. 1. — *fuisse*: depending on a *convenit* to be supplied

from the other. — *de duobus qui fuerint*: see Gr. 576.

3. *sunt qui*: e.g. Cicero (*de Re Publ.* II. 34. 59). — *duos tantum*: this is probably the fact; cf. III. 51. 10. — *sacratam*: i.e. which made the tribunes *sacrosancti*. It was probably sworn to not only by the *plebs* (see Festus, p. 318), but by the patricians as well. — *per, during*. The author now takes a new departure after the return.

4. *feriendum*: as this word (in this sense) is incomplete in its conjugation, Livy uses it as if conjugated *ferio, ferire, ici, ictum*; cf. *ferio, ferire, percussi, percussus*, in another sense. — *Longulam*, etc.: these originally Latin towns had been taken by the Volsci, as also Corioli.

num Cn. Marcius, adulescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Cum subito exercitum Romanum Coriolos obsidentem atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminenti belli Volscae legiones perfectae ab Antio invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. Is cum delecta militum manu non modo impetum erumpentium rettudit, sed per patentem portam ferox inrupit, caedeqe in proximo urbis facta ignem temere abreptum imminentibus muro aedificiis iniecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum, mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu, ad terrorem, ut solet, primum orto, et Romanis auxit animum et turbavit Volscos, utpote capta urbe cui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum. Tantumque sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius ut, nisi foedus cum Latinis columna aenea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset.

Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni in vita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis

EXPLOIT OF CN. MARCIUS. DEATH OF MENENIUS AGRIPPA.

5. *Coriolano*: see Gr. 373. a.

6. *ab Antio*: cf. *ab Alba*, I. 27. 4, and see Gr. 428. a. — *in statione*, on guard.

7. *in proximo*: the use of neuter adjectives as nouns, especially in a partitive sense, as here, is a favorite construction with Livy, and became still more common later.

8. *ad terrorem*: cf. I. 7. 7 n. —

*utpote*: as it naturally would, seeing that, etc.; cf. the use of *utpote* with relative clauses (Gr. 535. e. N. 1).

9. *columna*: mentioned by Cicero, *Balb.* 53. — *cessisset*: we should expect *cessurum fuerit* (cf. *facturus fuerit*, I. 3), but we may suppose Livy had carelessly forgotten the dependence upon *ut*.

11. *interpreti, agent*, the one who acted as go-between. — *arbitro*: as settling the terms on which they

Romanae in urbem sumptus funeri defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus conlatis in capita.

- 34 Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem  
 2 invasit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessum onem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet;  
 3 ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum non in Etruriam modo, dextris ab Ostia litoribus, laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum in Siciliam quoque: adeo finitum  
 4 morum odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, retentae sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit: eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos iam moventes  
 5 arma pestilentia ingens invasisset. Ea clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colono-

agreed. — *extulit*: cf. *efferrī*, 8. 8. The first place is given to the word by a rhetorical emphasis: 'This great benefactor hadn't money for his funeral; he *was buried* by,' etc. — *sextantibus*: a little copper coin worth one-sixth of the *as*, but used here to express what must have been at the time referred to a piece (or amount) of copper merely. — *in capita*: the use of the preposition in this formula comes from the idea of assessment, wherein the amount is 'imposed upon' the contributors.

SCARCITY OF FOOD. VIOLENT SPEECH OF CORIOLANUS.

34. 2. *clausis*, a city besieged, whose communications are cut off.

3. *Volscos*: these extended to the sea; cf. *Volsci Antiates*, 33. 9. — *quaesitum*: supine.

4. *pro bonis*, in payment for, etc. — *Aristodemo*: cf. 21. 5. — *Pomptino*: sc. *agro*. — *Tiberi*: i.e. they were not obliged, as in other cases, to go by sea.

6. *Velitris*: cf. 31. 4. — *Norbam*: in the Volscian mountains,

rum Romani, et Norbam in montis novam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt.

M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta, agitatūque in senatu quanti plebi daretur. Multi venisse tempus premendae plebis putabant reciperandique iura, quae extorta secessionē ac vi patribus essent. In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis, 'Si annonam' inquit 'veterem volunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem video, sub iugum missus, tamquam ab latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinius regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc, avocet plebem: patet via in Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta ex agris, quem ad modum tertio anno rapuere. Fruantur annona, quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore, quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant.' Haud tam facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit, quam potuisse arbitrari fieri, ut condicionibus laxandi annonam et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia invitis iura imposita patres demerent sibi.

Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est et plebem

above the Pomptine marshes, not far beyond Cora and Velitrae.

9. *ego*: the common emphatic use of the first personal pronoun in colloquial language. — *sub iugum missus*: in allusion to the ignominious surrender of the nobles.

10. *Tarquinius . . . Sicinium*: contrasting their respective positions, the one a great king, the other a low plebeian.

11. *quam ut*: cf. 15. 2 n.

12. *faciendum*, etc.: *i.e.* whether it would have been a good thing to do, as that it could have been done. — *ut*: the regular construction after *facere*. — *imposita . . . demerent*: these rights of the people are regarded as burdens on the nobles.

WRATH OF THE PLEBS. BANISHMENT OF CORIOLANUS.

35. *et plebem*: not that any of them were present in the senate, as

- ira prope armavit: fame se iam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi Gnaeo Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum ex-
- 2 ortum, qui aut mori aut servire iubeat. In exeuntem e curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent. Ibi ira est suppressa: se iudicem quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici factum videbat.
- 3 Contemptim primo Marcii audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii non poenae ius datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs ut unius poena defungendum esset
- 4 patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversa invidia, usque sunt qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est, si dispositis clientibus absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque disicere rem

the tribunes were later, but they would hear of the speech; cf. III. 41. 4. — *fame*: *i.e.* they were to be starved out like a besieged city. The figure is of hunger used as a weapon (cf. *spicula petit*, 20. 2), but is not felt very strongly.

2. *diem dixissent*: this is the first instance of a capital trial instituted by the tribunes. The assemblies of the people had jurisdiction of such cases, and in order to give a fair trial, the accusing magistrate announced that on a certain day (*diem dicere*) he should bring in a bill against the offender. The charge against Coriolanus is not given by Livy, and varies in other writers, but it is impliedly his conduct in the senate.

3. *auxilii*, etc.: *i.e.* he claimed that the power of the tribunes was *only remedial*, and that their present action was, as we should say,

unconstitutional. — *sed*, etc.: *i.e.* the patricians were obliged to abandon the view held by the accused and consent to the trial. — *defungendum*: the word has the idea of getting over something, having done with it; here it means get rid of the animosity of the *plebs* by sacrificing one of their number.

4. *tamen*, etc.: *i.e.* though they saw the necessity, yet they resisted by political means, and made every effort to acquit their champion on the trial. — *adversa invidia*: in spite of the odium of their course; literally, 'facing it.' — *suis*: *i.e.* the personal influence of themselves and their dependents in political working; *totius ordinis*: the authority of the senate as a body. — *temptata res est*, si: cf. I. 57. 3. — *dispositis*, etc.: *i.e.* by the use of bullies and strikers to prevent the political meetings of their op-

ent. Vniversi deinde processere — quidquid erat 5  
um reos diceres — precibus plebem exposcentes,  
m sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem ab-  
ere nollent, pro nocente donarent. Ipse cum die 6  
a non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus  
ns in Volscos exsulatum abiit, minitans patriae hos-  
que iam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci  
gne excepere benigniusque in dies colebant, quo  
or ira in suos eminebat crebraeque nunc querellae  
c minae percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Atti 7  
i. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat,  
nanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus  
m, alterum ira recens stimulare, consilia conferunt  
Romano bello. Haud facile credebant plebem suam 8  
elli posse ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma cape-

nts, precisely as is done in mod-  
imes, so that there should be  
concerted action. This meas-  
apparently failed. — *clientibus*:  
was evidently up to this time  
der distinct from the *plebs*, and  
the control of the aristocracy,  
that the difference was is un-  
n. As each house had its own,  
stitution may have had its ori-  
the old clan constitution, while  
lebeians were newcomers in-  
ndent of the clan system. The  
men afterwards took the place  
e clients, and the position of  
vo classes may have been sim-

universi, in a body, as op-  
to the individuals working  
gh their clients. — *quidquid*:  
*quidquid deorum*, 5. 7 n. — *reos*:  
is customary for persons ac-  
to put on mean apparel as  
n of mourning, in order to ex-  
mpathy, and in this garb to  
icate the people. And in this  
*the senate now appeared.* —

*diceres, you would have said; see*  
Gr. 447. 2. — *pro nocente*, etc.:  
*i.e.* pardon him for their sake, as an  
act of grace.

6. *ipse*: notice the force of the  
emphasis, 'But after all these en-  
treaties of his colleagues *C. himself*  
did not appear, and taking this as  
proof that he was not humbled, they  
refused to be mollified,' — *iam tum*,  
*even then*, before he joined the Vol-  
scian arms. — *quo, as*, in proportion  
as. — *crebraeque*, etc.: *i.e.* the  
more he complained and threat-  
ened.

7. *hospitio*, etc.: the force of  
the emphasis is, 'the person with  
whom he stayed was,' etc., explain-  
ing the manner in which the plan  
of war was set on foot. Livy might  
have said, '*A. T.* was the person,'  
etc., but that would have laid stress  
on the individual instead of on the  
circumstance of his intimacy with  
Coriolanus, which gave an occasion  
for their plans.

8. *haud facile*, etc.: 'they didn't

rent. Multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuventute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleta iam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

- 36 Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat: ludis mane servum quidam pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo. Coepti inde ludi, velut  
 2 ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore;  
 3 iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen maiesta-

suppose it would be very easy,' etc., 'and so they felt they must use artifice.' — *ira*, cause of anger.

A GREAT SPECTACLE AT ROME, AND A CURIOUS REASON FOR IT.

36. *ludi magni*: apparently vowed by Postumius in the Latin war. It was not yet a regular festival, as it afterwards became, with the name *ludi Romani*. — *instauratione*: in any sacred observance, if anything faulty occurred, the whole had to be gone over again, for which the regular term was *instaurare*, a word of doubtful etymology. — *ludis*: cf. *bello Latino*, 26. 2. — *commisso*: a natural word, since the games consisted of races. — *caesum*: not to be distinguished here from a present passive participle, which the Latin lacks; cf. Gr. 491. Cicero uses *cum caederetur* (*de Div.* I. 55). — *ad religionem*, with the sacred games; properly, with the religious character of the proceedings; i.e. with the desecration of them. The

word appears to have originally meant the noticing and taking care of any portentous appearance, but came to have a wide range, sometimes meaning, as here, a religious difficulty, sometimes the feeling or perception of it, as in 3, sometimes (in a bad sense) superstition, sometimes (in a good sense) religion.

2. *praesultatorem*, the head dancer. Evidently the Romans had in their native cults a ritual of dancing (like our savages), which was an important part of their religion. These rites were performed by a chorus (cf. the Salian priests), led by a chief dancer (*praesul*, *praesultor*, *praesultator*), whose movements were followed by the others (originally *consules*, from which the name might come to mean colleagues, and afterwards be used to designate the two sharers of the supreme power in place of the king). In Jupiter's divine riddle this leader is identified with the whipped slave.

2. *de plebe*: cf. I. 50. 3 n.

3. *liber*, etc.: i.e. he was not un-

tis magistratuum timorem vicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit: filium 4 namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cuius repentinae cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satin magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. Iam praesentior res erat. Cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enimvero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis 6 praeteritis instantibusque consilio propinquorum adhibito cum visa atque audita et obversatum totiens somno Iovem, minas irasque caelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubie omnium qui aderant in forum ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in 7 curiam iussu consulum delatus eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam 8 esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

affected by a religious anxiety, he thought the dream significant; yet his fear of the consuls was stronger than his religious feeling. — *ne in ora*, etc.: an explanation of *verecundia*. His fear is that, being repulsed by the consuls, a humble citizen venturing to appear before such grand and lofty personages, he should become a common jest in the mouths of men.

4. *magno*, etc.: Gr. 416. — *animi*: see Gr. 358. — *satin*: cf. I. 58. 7 n. — *mercedem*: in a bad sense, but suited to the sarcastic character of the question. — *ni eat*: for *mi is* in the direct.

5. *praesentior*: i.e. came nearer home. — *tamen*: i.e. though it be-

came more threatening, yet he delayed, etc. — *debilitate*: the manifestation of his sickness. — *tunc enimvero*: cf. *enimvero tum*, 22. 6 n., and the often used *tum vero* (23. 13 n.). — *admonuit*: i.e. had the desired effect of bringing him to his senses.

6. *instantibus*: i.e. his own threatened death. — *repraesentatas*, *instantly fulfilled*, the figure derived from immediate payment, the literal meaning of the word. — *casibus*: the means of fulfilment.

8. *captus*: more commonly of permanent disability, which, however, was the case here, to all appearance. — *functum*, etc.: i.e. having told the story.

- 37 Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit esse quae secreto agere de re publica velit. Arbitris remotis 'Invitus' inquit 'quod sequius sit de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed cautum ne admittant.
- 4 Nimio plus quam velim nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito sed vestra patientia incolumes simus. Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum iuventute in hac urbe commissum sit. Horret animus ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. Haec nostra vestraque causa prius dicenda
- 7 vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, exemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cuius facti dicitive contagione praesens violer.' Haec locutus abiit.
- 8 Consules cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecavendum vel ex supervacuo movit; factoque senatus consulto ut urbem excederent Volsci, praecones dimittunt.

MACHINATIONS OF ATTIIUS TULLIUS.

37. 2. *committerentur*: see Gr. 551. *b.* — *de re publica*, on a matter of state, as opposed to private business.

3. *admissum*, etc.: *i.e.* not to charge that they have done anything, but, etc.

4. *velim*: see Gr. 447. 1.

5. *cladibus*: ensuing upon the hasty action of the people in making wars in which they were defeated.

6. *Sabinorum*, etc.: see. 18. 2.

7. *quod ad me attinet*: cf. 31. 10 n. — *contagione*: *i.e.* by being implicated in any act. The figure is of course drawn from a disease, but the application is different from I. 15. 1. — *praesens*: *i.e.* as I should if I should remain.

8. *dubiam*, etc.: the two things are contrasted, a doubtful matter, but on too good authority to be disregarded. — *vel ex supervacuo*: *i.e.* even in case it should be superfluous.

tur qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem iuberent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentis ad suas res tollendas 9 in hospitibus perculit; proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis festis diebus coetu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus Tul- 38 lius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos, sedulo audientes secunda irae verba, et per eos multitudinem aliam in subiectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi 2 in contionis modum orationem exorsus 'Veteres populi Romani iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia' inquit 'obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie 3 de vobis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? Vestras coniuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos qui audire vocem praeconis, quid qui nos 4 videre abeuntes, quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto

9. *discurrentis*: the present indicates the time of the action of *perculit* as opposed to that of *oborta*; while they were getting ready to go fear predominated, when they were actually starting (*proficiscentibus*) that emotion gave way to indignation. — *deorumque*: inasmuch as it was a religious festival.

#### THE SUCCESS OF TULLIUS' SCHEME.

38. *cum . . . irent*: i.e. they came almost in a body, so that Tullius could address them to advantage. — *caput Ferentinum*: cf. I. 50. 1, 51. 9. The site was, however, oc-

cupied by the Latins, and this detail is imaginary, as is perhaps the whole story. — *veniret*: see Gr. 518. c. — *indignando*, with expressions of indignation; cf. 28. 2 n. — *secunda*: i.e. agreeing with.

2. *contionis*: i.e. like a regular set political speech. — *ut . . . obliviscamini*: see Gr. 527. a.

3. *an*, etc.: with the usual force, 'am I not right, or,' etc. — *triumphatum*: observe the technical meaning underlying the figure, giving the idea of a public display of their humiliation. — *traductos*: as prisoners in a triumph.

- nefas esse, — quod, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi  
 5 simus ludos piaculumque meritori, ideo nos ab sede pi-  
 orum coetu concilioque abigi? Quid deinde? Illud non  
 succurrit, vivere nos quod maturarimus proficisci? — si  
 hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non  
 hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, mo-  
 riendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est,  
 6 magno eorum malo qui indixere, si viri estis.' Ita et  
 sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi  
 sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere ut  
 omne Volscum nomen deficeret.
- 89 Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sen-  
 tentia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exsul Roma-  
 2 nus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam spem  
 nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validio-  
 rem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios pro-  
 3 fectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberam-  
 que eam urbem Volscis tradidit. Inde in Latinam viam  
 transversis tramitibus transgressus Satricum Longulam

4. *quod*: referring directly to *nefas*, and so a neuter accusative, *which*, but explaining *ideo*, and so a conjunction, *because*. But they are really the same thing (Gr. 390. d. N. 2).

5. *quid deinde*, *what follows*? The answer is *illud*, etc. — *hoc*: more emphatic than *haec*, the usual form (Gr. 296. a), as dwelling more on the act independent of its name. — *fuit*: see Gr. 517. c. — *malo*: ablative of manner. For the thought, cf. *pestiferum*, I. 58. 8.

6. *suos quisque*: they were *primores* (see 1) of different cities of the stock. — *deficeret*: Livy is probably thinking of the later Roman supremacy, for the Volscians had never been conquered, and so *could not 'revolt.'*

THE VOLSCI TAKE THE FIELD.  
 THE ROMANS ARE FAINT TO  
 NEGOTIATE.

89. *plus*: *i.e.* than in their own countryman.

2. *nequaquam*, etc.: *i.e.* their hope was fulfilled in the success of their arms, which, in contrast with their former defeats, showed that it was in their leaders, not their armies, that the strength of the Romans lay. — *Circeios*: cf. I. 56. 3.

3. in *Latinam viam*: there is an error in the geography here, but whose is uncertain; Satricum, etc., as well as Circeii, lay west of the Appian Way. — *tramitibus*: the cross-roads that ran between the two great routes, the Appian and the Latin Ways.

Poluscam Coriolos Mugillam, haec Romanis oppida ademit. Inde Lavinium recepit, tum deinceps Corbionem 4 Vitelliam Trebium Labicos Pedum cepit. Postremum 5 ad urbem a Peto ducit, et ad fossas Cluillas quinque ab urbe milia passuum castris positus populatur inde agrum Romanum custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patri- 6 ciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi, sive ut discordia inde inter patres plebemque oreretur. Quae 7 profecto orta esset — adeo tribuni iam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant —, sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se iungebat animos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consu- 8 lesque nusquam alibi spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam bellum malebat.

Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos 9 recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque in quibus stationes vigiliisque esse placuerat loca distribuentis multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterruit, deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad Cn. Marcium mittendis coegit. Acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare 10

5. a Peto: the plan of the campaign is not very clear, and probably was not to Livy himself. — fossas Cluillas: cf. I. 23. 3.

6. agros intactos: cf. Hannibal's similar device, XXII. 23.

7. per se: i.e. without such instigation. — criminando: used absolutely. — sed: taking the place of a protasis. — quamvis, etc.: a kind of cross between a general statement, 'united dispositions, however hostile,' and a particular one, 'united these, though they were,' etc. — iungebat, tended to unite; a use of the conative imperfect.

8. id modo, etc., in this only they did not agree.

9. iam: i.e. time had elapsed for an election to come round; cf. 23. 14 n. — recensentes: the next step after the conscription, which the plebs did not, as in other cases, resist; distribuentis: a still later step. — stationes, pickets; vigiliis, sentinels, for night-watches. — primum, etc.: i.e. first they were met by an indefinite, riotous mob, and then were definitely forced to take measures.

10. acceperunt: cf. reiecta, 31. 9. — labare: i.e. in reference to

- plebis animos, missique de pace ad Marcium oratores  
 11 atrox responsum rettulerunt : si Volscis ager redderetur,  
 posse agi de pace ; si praeda belli per otium frui velint,  
 memorem se et civium iniuriae et hospitum beneficii  
 adniscum ut appareat exsilio sibi irritatos, non fractos  
 12 animos esse. Iterum deinde idem missi non recipiuntur  
 in castra. Sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus velatos,  
 isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est ; nihilo  
 magis quam legatos flexisse animum.
- 40 Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Vo-  
 lumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. Id publicum  
 2 consilium an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio ; per-  
 vicere certe, ut et Veturia magno natu mulier et Vo-  
 lumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in  
 castra hostium irent, et quoniam armis viri defendere  
 urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque de-  
 3 fenderent. Vbi ad castra ventum est, nuntiatumque  
 Coriolano est adesse ingens mulierum agmen, primo,  
 ut qui nec publica maiestate in legatis nec in sacerdoti-  
 bus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus es-  
 set, multo obstinatior adversus lacrimas muliebres erat.

continuing the war. — *missi*, etc. : the common Latin way of forcing two statements into one sentence, 'the embassy was sent, and being sent, brought back,' etc.

11. *ager*: see 25. 6. — *si . . . redderetur*, *posse*: see Gr. 516. *d.* — *si praeda*, etc.: *i.e.* if they chose the other alternative of refusing to surrender the land. — *per otium*: *i.e.* without taking any action to make peace. — *velint*: representing *vultis* of the direct; the difference of tense in the direct allows the difference here.

12. *velatos*: the fillet was the special ornament of priests as well as of suppliants.

THE MOTHER AND WIFE OF CORIOLANUS ENTREAT HIM.

40. *id*: strictly the act of the women, but used for the cause of the act; cf. *consilium* (the action of the senate) and *timor* (the spontaneous expression of alarm in the women).

2. *certe*, in any case, whether it was one or the other. — *duos parvos*: the emphasis is explained by the meaning, 'the mother, the wife, and two little ones, sons of Marcus, carried by their mother as infants.' — *ex Marcio*: a participle is omitted, making the words an adjective phrase, a somewhat rare Latin construction. — *secum*: of

amiliarium quidam, qui insignem maestitia inter 4  
 cognoverat Veturiam inter nurum nepotesque  
 n, 'Nisi me frustrantur' inquit 'oculi, mater tibi  
 que et liberi adsunt.' Coriolanus prope ut amens 5  
 natus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviam com-  
 , mulier in iram ex precibus versa 'Sine, prius-  
 complexum accipio, sciam' inquit 'ad hostem an-  
 m venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim.  
 me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exsulem 6  
 de hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc ter-  
 ae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis in 7  
 nimo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira  
 ? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit  
 illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater,  
 k liberique?' Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma 8  
 pugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera

e women generally. — **pos-**  
 e thought of the women.

**lica**: i.e. of the state.

**sternatus**, *springing wild-*  
 ing the frenzied start from

at the news. — **in iram**,

she had come to suppli-  
 at the sight of her son her

change, and she meets him  
 n reproaches. — **accipio**:

at for the future, an almost  
 onstruction with *ante* and

m in colloquial language.  
 : see Gr. 565 and N. I. —

if he was an enemy, then  
 g in his power, was a slave,

having the authority of a

**hoc**, to this, though the  
 s a stronger expression by

**traxit**, as if, 'dragged me  
 ondition.' — **potuisti**: the

gives the force of 'could  
 yourself to?' Cf. Hor.

II. 31. Notice, also, the  
 on **populari**.

7. **non**: the emphatic position  
 of the negative gives the force, 'it  
 seems incredible that it did not.'

— **quamvis**: this word, in classical  
 Latin, from its meaning always takes  
 the subjunctive, but beginning with  
 the omission of the verb, which  
 would be in that mood if expressed,  
 the construction comes to allow the  
 indicative, as if *etsi* or the like had  
 been used; here **quamvis infesto**  
**animo**, with another conditional  
 particle would be regular, and Livy  
 forgets, as it were, that no such  
 particle or any verb has been ex-  
 pressed, and goes on as if he had  
 said, *etsi quamvis infesto animo per-*  
*perveneras*.

8. **ergo**: introducing, as often,  
 a conclusion from all the circum-  
 stances not immediately connected  
 with the preceding. It is to be  
 remembered that Livy is, first of  
 all, a rhetorician, and these occa-  
 sions are his opportunities for show-  
 ing his skill in speech-making. —

patria mortua essem. Sed ego nihil iam pati, nec tibi turpius quam mihi miserius, possum, nec, ut sum miserima, diu futura sum: de his videris, quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet.' Vxor deinde ac liberi amplexi fletusque ab omni turba mulierum ortus et comploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt alii alio leto. Apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem invenio; refert certe hanc saepe eum exacta aetate usurpasse vocem, multo miserius seni exsilium esse. Non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani: adeo sine obtrectatione gloriae alienae vivebatur. Monumento quoque quod esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum dedicatumque est.

Rediere deinde Volsci adiunctis Aequis in agrum Romanum, sed Aequi Attium Tullium haud ultra tulere

*sed*, etc.: for the moment she has brought herself into prominence, and this she now corrects. *ego* is opposed to *his* below.—*nihil* . . . *nec*: loose writing for *nec* . . . *quidquam*, correlative with *nec* . . . *sum* below, and followed by *non turpius*. The case differs from the ordinary *nec* . . . *nec* after a negative, in that the two are not strictly correlative. Veturia herself has reached the height of wretchedness, and her son's further acts cannot increase her misery, but only his disgrace; but with the wife and children both may be increased.

9. *videris*: cf. *videritis*, I. 58. 10.

10. *suos*: his family, taking the gender from the two sons.—*alio*: one was by suicide.—*antiquissimum*: cf. *veterrimos*, 18. 5.

11. *refert*, etc.: this implies that he continued to live in exile.—*certe*: cf. 2 n.—*laude*: the regular earlier Latin construction would be *laudi mulierum*, but this construction becomes after Livy common, and is probably an imitation of the Greek (cf. *φθονεῖν τινὶ τιμῆς*), though a natural enough use of language.—*sua*: allowed, instead of *earum*, on account of the idea of *peculiar* or *special* contained in it.

12. *quoque*: i.e. as well as *glory*.—*templum*: four miles out on the Latin Way, where the meeting was supposed to have taken place.—*rediere*: Livy resumes, perhaps from other sources, his dry narrative after the picturesque incident, joining it on as well as he can.—*Aequi*, etc.: cf. 39. 1.

em. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequine impera- 13  
m coniuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox  
elium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hos-  
a exercitus haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci  
amine confecit.

onsules Titus Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Vol- 14  
Aquilio Hernici — nam ii quoque in armis erant —  
vincia evenit. Eo anno Hernici devicti, cum Volscis  
uo Marte discessum est.

p. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules 41  
i. Cum Hernicis foedus ictum, agri partes duae  
mptae. Inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi di-  
rus consul Cassius erat. Adiciebat huic muneri 2  
aliquantum, quem publicum possideri a privatis  
inabatur. Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos posses-  
es, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. Sed et publica  
tribus sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem pericu-  
s libertati opes struere. Tum primum lex agraria 3  
mulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memo-  
sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter 4

**darent:** depending on the  
of question in **certamine**; see  
75. b.

**provincia:** in predicate ap-  
position with the names of the two  
consuls. For the origin and use of the  
word, see *Harvard Studies*, I. p. 101.

PUNISHMENT OF SP. CASSIUS.

**foedus ictum**, etc.: rather  
unusual terms for a people *devicti*,  
whose exact history is not to be looked  
for here.

**publicum:** *i.e.* belonging to  
the state, and so available for dis-  
position, were it not for the action  
of patricians. — **possideri**: not  
only held in the regular manner,  
*iminabatur* shows, but 'ap-

propriated,' in that by long contin-  
uance of an occupation originally  
natural and legal, the *plebs* were  
kept out of a right which they had  
come to want and become able to  
use. — **quidem**: opposing the self-  
ish motives of many to the political  
alarm (*publica*, etc.) of the rest.

3. **lex agraria**: all such laws  
proposed a distribution of the pub-  
lic lands to the poorer classes to  
be held as private property, as the  
public lands in modern times are  
distributed. — **maximis motibus**:  
as in the case of the Gracchi and  
others. — **agitata**: equivalent to  
a relative clause, whereby an in-  
accuracy of the time of the partici-  
ple results; cf. *caesum*, 36. 1.

largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe  
 adversante, quae primo coeperat fastidire munus vul-  
 5 gatum; a civibus isse in socios; saepe deinde et Vergi-  
 nium consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem audie-  
 bat pestilens collegae munus esse, agros illos servitutum  
 6 iis qui acceperint laturus, regno viam fieri. Quid ita  
 enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinu-  
 isse Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem  
 tertiam reddi, nisi ut eae gentes pro Coriolano duce  
 7 Cassium habeant? Popularis iam esse dissuasor et in-  
 tercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Vterque deinde con-  
 sul certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passu-  
 rum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Romano  
 8 adsignentur; Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitio-  
 sus in socios eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere  
 sibi reconciliaret civium animos, iubere pro Siculo fru-

4. *nec omni*: *i.e.* no doubt some rich plebeians were also interested in the great bodies of public lands let for pasturage and the like. — *primo*: opposed to *deinde* in 5. — *fastidire*: see Gr. 572. *b.* — *vulgatum*: in the fact that the *socii* were to enjoy it also. — *socios*: possibly this part of the scheme is borrowed by the ancient historians from the later measures of Drusus.

5. *et*: as well as their dissatisfaction with the extent of the boon. — *vaticinantem*: not merely 'prophe-  
 sying,' in our sense, — anybody can do that, — but with the idea of an inspired foresight. — *regno*: the suggestion of this bugbear was the second cause of the alarm of the *plebs*.

6. *ita, in this way*, as they were. — *adsumi*: see Gr. 586. — *attinu-  
 isse*: *i.e.* 'what did it mean?' 'why  
 should it be done?' — *nisi ut, etc.*:  
*i.e.* that these nations should be used

by Cassius as a means to destroy the liberty of the Romans.

7. *popularis, etc.*: *i.e.* the oppo-  
 nent of these measures, ordinarily  
 favored by the *plebs*, had begun, by  
 these appeals to their prejudices, to  
 be regarded as the true friend of  
 the people. — *dissuasor, opponent*,  
 by argument; *intercessor, nulli-  
 fier*, by the power of one colleague  
 to stay the other's proceedings. —  
*uterque, etc.*: *i.e.* it now became  
 a race for popular favor between  
 the two consuls. — *adsignari, etc.*:  
 thus catering to the prejudices of  
 those who wished to confine the  
 largess to Roman citizens. — *ad-  
 signentur*: see Gr. 528.

8. *agraria*: opposed to the lar-  
 gess of money. — *ambitiosus*: in  
 its regular meaning of catering to  
 one for political purposes. Of course  
 the point of view is a later one, as  
 the struggle for equality of the Lat-  
 ins could hardly have begun so early.

mento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id vero 9  
 haud secus quam praesentem mercedem regni aspernata  
 plebes: adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut  
 abundarent omnia, munera eius in animis hominum re-  
 spuebantur. Quem, ubi primum magistratu abiit, dam- 10  
 natum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem  
 eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse  
 ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravis-  
 se; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum 'Ex Cassia familia  
 datum.' Invenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem 11  
 est, a quaestoribus Caesone Fabio et L. Valerio diem  
 dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi iudicio, di-  
 ritas publice aedes. Ea est area ante Telluris aedem.

— *vilior*, less esteemed, but with the literal force that we express by 'cheapening one's self.' — *Siculo*: cf. 34. 3. and 7. — *pecuniam* . . . *retribui*: the grain would thus become a gratuitous distribution, such as was afterwards practiced.

9. *id vero*: cf. *tum vero*, often commented on. — *praesentem*, downright; literally, paid on the spot, and so a direct price paid by Cassius for the regal power. The ignorant prejudices of the people were fully roused by the crafty nobles. — *insitam*, deep-seated; i.e. the natural hatred of the people to regal power. — *abundarent*: see Gr. 524.

10. *ubi*, etc.: a magistrate as such could not be attacked while in office, but upon its expiration he became like any other private citizen. — *sunt qui*, etc.: these read like later comment and explanation of the meagre facts as stated in the annals. — *cognita*, etc.: i.e. he acted as judge, and formally tried the son, over whom the *patria potestas*, suspended during the magistracy, was again restored at its expiration; cf.

I. 26. 9. — *peculium*: the son was the property of the father, and could own nothing, but was allowed, like a slave, to enjoy some property as if it were his own. — *Cereri*: cf. *sacrando cum bonis*, etc., 8. 2; he was apparently put to death by the law of Valerius Publicola there mentioned. — *signum*: cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 15, *Romae simulacrum ex aere factum Cereri primum reperi ex peculio Sp. Cassi*. — *familia*: here used in its regular sense of *res familiaris*.

11. *fidem*: see Gr. 432. a. — *quaestoribus*: not in the later sense of officers of the treasury, but of commissioners who acted partly as judges in the first instance, and partly as prosecutors before the people; cf. the appeal of Horatius, I. 26. 8. — *diem dictam*: cf. 35. 2 n. — *perduellionis*: very likely a later attempt to bring the case under some general class of offences; cf. Cic. *de Rep.* II. 35. 60, *Sp. Cassium de occupando regno molientem quaestor accusavit*, etc. — *populi*: in the *comitia centuriata*, doubtless. — *Telluris aedem*: in the Carinae, near

- 12 Ceterum, sive illud domesticum sive publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur Servio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulibus.
- 42 Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariae legis ipsa per se dempto auctore subibat animos; accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate patrum, qui devictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque militem praeda
- 2 fraudavere; quidquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul ac redegit in publicum. Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novissimum consulem; tenere tamen patres ut cum L. Aemilio Caeso Fabius
- 3 consul crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum externum excivit. Bello deinde civiles discordiae intermissae. Vno animo patres ac plebs rebellantes Volscos et Aequos duce Aemilio prospera
- 4 pugna vicere. Plus tamen hostium fuga quam proelium absumpsit: adeo pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt
- 5 equites. Castoris aedes eodem anno idibus Quintilibus dedicata est. Vota erat Latino bello a Postumio dictatore. Filius eius duumvir ad id ipsum creatus dedicavit.

the *sororium tigillum* (I. 26. 13n); it was said to have been consecrated B.C. 486.

#### WARS ABROAD AND DISSENSIONS AT HOME.

42. *agrariae legis*: though no actual law had been brought to a vote, yet the measure had been proposed, and may well be so called here. — *dempto*: i.e. though the proposer was gone. — *malignitate, meanness*; i.e. the *ungenerous* action of the senate, who, by the hands of Fabius, one of their party, turned the booty into the common store. The general in command had the disposal of the booty.

2. *novissimum*: see 41. 12. — *tenuere, etc.*: i.e. they succeeded

in securing one of the consuls in spite of the opposition; such half-successes were very common; cf. the famous case of Caesar and Bibulus. — *Caeso*: see 41. 11.

3. *excivit, brought about*; literally *roused*, by encouraging the enemies of Rome to take advantage of her internal dissensions.

4. *tamen*: opposing the greater loss in flight to the implied loss in *prospera . . . vicere*.

5. *Castoris*: this is the great temple of Castor and Pollux (called *Castoris* for short), which is so often mentioned in later Roman history, and is still partly standing; it was near the end of the Forum, under the Palatine. — *Latino*: see 20. 12. — *filius*: the father was probably

Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis 6  
 animi plebis. Tribuni plebi popularem potestatem lege  
 populari celebrabant; patres satis superque gratuiti  
 furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones te-  
 meritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi patri-  
 bus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. Ea igitur 7  
 pars rei publicae vicit, nec in praesens modo, sed in  
 venientem etiam annum M. Fabium, Caesonis fratrem,  
 et magis invisum alterum plebi accusatione Sp. Cassii  
 L. Valerium consules dedit. Certatum eo quoque anno 8  
 cum tribunis est. Vana lex vanique legis auctores iac-  
 tando inritum munus facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens  
 post tres continuos consulatus unoque velut tenore omnes  
 expertos tribuniciis certaminibus habitum. Itaque ut  
 bene locatus mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos.  
 Bellum inde Veiens initum; et Volsci rebellarunt. Sed 9  
 ad bella externa prope supererant vires, abutebanturque

by this time dead, and in such cases it was usual to appoint a kinsman as one of the commission of two to build and dedicate the temple.

6. *dulcedine*, etc.: cf. 1. — *plebi*: a rare form of the genitive found in certain phrases; cf. *plebiscitum*. — *popularem*, etc.: *i.e.* being elected to an office devoted to the people, they felt bound to 'magnify' it by proposing a law for the benefit of the people. — *celebrabant*: for the tense, cf. *instigabant*, 39. 7. — *gratuiti*, without a premium; *i.e.* without a definite incitement to partisan agitation. — *largitiones*, etc.: a descriptive reference, in quite the modern style, to the measure in question, the agrarian law; cf., however, 41. 2.

7. *ea pars*: *i.e.* the senate, identical in Livy's mind with the patricians. — *nec in praesens*: *sc. vicit*. — *accusatione*: see 41. 11. — *de-*

*dit*: *i.e.* by its success in the elections.

8. *vana . . . facti*, was brought to nought; *vani*, baffled; but with the underlying idea in each case that the agitation ended in nothing. — *iactando*: a loose ablative of manner; see Gr. 507. footn. — *inritum*, unaccomplished, but containing the same idea as *vana*, etc., above. — *tenore*, character, but with the idea of the pursuance of the same policy throughout. — *expertos*: not merely that they met with the opposition, but that they forced it. — *bene locatus*, well invested, with the same figure.

9. *sed*: contradicting the inference that foreign war would occupy the state so as to prevent civil dissensions. — *abutebantur*: with its proper etymological idea of *misuse*, or diversion from an end or purpose.

- 10 iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad aegras iam  
omnium mentes prodigia caelestia, prope cotidianas in  
urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique ita numinis  
causam nullam aliam vates canebant publice privatim-  
que, nunc extis nunc per aves consulti, quam haud rite  
11 sacra fieri. Qui terrores tamen eo evasere, ut Oppia  
virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.
- 43 Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius consules facti. Eo anno  
non segnior discordia domi et bellum foris atrocius fuit.  
Ab Aequis arma sumpta. Veientes agrum quoque Ro-  
manorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum cre-  
scente cura Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt.
- 2 Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant; Ve-  
ientes, pleni iam populationum, Romam ipsam se op-  
3 pugnatos minabantur. Qui terrores cum compescere  
deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis; redibatque non  
sua sponte plebi mos detrectandi militiam, sed Spu-  
rius Licinius tribunus plebis venisse tempus ratus per  
ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae patribus iniun-  
4 gendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. Ce-  
terum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in aucto-  
rem est; nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius

10. *aegras iam*: *i.e.* on account of the civil discord. — *prodigia*: *i.e.* such as the rain of stones, comets, mock-suns, and the like. — *moti*: cf. I. 55. 3 n. — *consulti*: with numinis.

11. *tamen*: *i.e.* notwithstanding the great alarm, it only ended in this one case of atonement. — *poenas*, etc.: she was buried alive.

WAR WITH VEII AND THE AEQUI.

43. *quoque*: *i.e.* not only took up arms, but made an inroad. — *consules*: apparently the next year,

but the two years are thus connected to avoid the stiffness of annals.

2. *pleni*: *i.e.* they were now tired of ordinary pillaging, and sought higher game.

3. *non sua*, etc.: cf. 23. 2; 27. 7; 29. 2; opposed to *sed*, etc. — *in-iungendae*, *forcing*. — *impediendam*: by using his tribunician power to protect the recusants.

4. *tota invidia*, etc.: *i.e.* the whole odium capable of being raised by the power was thrown upon Licinius, by the fact that his colleagues turned against him. —

collegae coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: 5  
 ducendus Fabio in Veientes, in Aequos Furio datur. Et in Aequis quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est; Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus quam 6  
 cum hostibus fuit. Vnus ille vir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul praeter ceteras 7  
 imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem ut solo equitatu emissio exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, etsi non adhortatio inveni ducis, suum saltem 8  
 flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare, aut, si aliud nihil, stare instructos. In 9  
 iussu signa referunt, maestique — crederes victos — exsecrantes nunc imperatorem nunc navatam ab equite operam redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti ex- 10  
 emplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt: adeo

*auxilio*, etc.: although the tribunes had no power to set anything on foot, and so could not strictly assist a levy, yet they could aid by defending the consuls in their compulsory measures, against the interference of their colleague.

5. *ducendus*: a curious use of the combined force of the participle and adjective, 'the one to be, etc., is given to Fabius, the one to be, etc., to Furius.'

6. *ipse consul*: i.e. the very man whom they had so hated. — *in se*: the use of the reflexive, though irregular, is justified by a kind of indirect discourse, 'we will ruin the state so far as in us lies,' implied in the action of *prodebat*.

8. *nec illos*, etc.: the narrative

here, perhaps worked over from the traditions of the Fabian family, assumes the rhetorical form of a speech addressed to the soldiers by their consul. The peculiar constructions, as well as the words employed, become natural if we change the whole into direct discourse, '*nonne vos . . . vestrum . . . redierit, . . . potest*,' etc. Rhetorical style with the ancients was always more or less connected with speeches.

9. *crederes*: cf. 35. 5 n. — *navatam*: Gr. 497.

10. *pestilenti*: as being mutiny, and destructive to military discipline. — *quaesita*, *found*; cf. *quaesitam*, 44. 3. — *adeo*, etc.: a natural remark of Livy's after so many years of civil government had made

- excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars qua civem  
 11 regant quam qua hostem superent. Consul Romam  
 rediit non tam belli gloria aucta quam inritato exacer-  
 batoque in se militum odio. Obtinuere tamen patres  
 ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret : M. Fabium con-  
 sulem creant, Fabio collega Gnaeus Manlius datur.  
 44 Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae ha-  
 buit : Ti. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut pro-  
 cessisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper im-  
 2 pediit. Perturbatis iterum patribus Appius Claudius  
 victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in  
 praesentia re, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum  
 3 sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim umquam  
 defuturum qui et ex collega victoriam sibi et gratiam  
 melioris partis bono publico velit quaesitam ; et plures,

the Romans even more famous as statesmen and politicians than as generals and warriors; but one could hardly expect the civil virtues to flourish as early as the military. — *defuerit*: see Gr. 447. 3.

11. *gloria aucta*, etc.: these ablatives absolute have all the force of ablatives of quality. In fact, the Romans were not so particular about classifying the uses of cases as it is convenient for us to be. — *obtinuere*: cf. *tenuere*, 42. 2. — *collega* . . . *datur*: in these cases (cf. 42. 2 and 43. 1) the patricians succeeded in forcing one of their partisans on the elective body, but were obliged to allow one consul to the supporters of the plebeians; hence the word *datur*.

THE PATRICIANS AGAIN DIVIDE THE TRIBUNES. HOPES OF THE ETRUSCANS.

44. *eandem*: i.e. as Licinius, explained in the next clause. — *processisset*: impersonal, as often

with *succedere*, and occasionally with this word. For mood, see Gr. 524.

2. *victam*, etc.: the emphasis gives the force, 'the method proposed *succeeded* the last time, why not try it again?' Cf. in *praesentia re* and its chiasmic antithesis, 'not only effectually for the moment, but so as to suggest it again in *any* similar circumstances.' — *dicere*: not very different from *dixit*, but giving more the idea of 'proceeded to suggest,' or 'it occurred to Appius to suggest,' as a part of the situation; cf. the further description of the situation and the final action (*obtinuere*, etc.) in 5.

3. *ex collega*: corresponding chiasmatically with *melioris partis*. — *melioris*: the emphasis is caused by the fact that the tribune himself belonged, in the view of the speaker, to the worse part. — *bono*: used as a substantive, like *pessimo* in 1. 3. — *quaesitam*: cf. *quaesita*, 43. 10.

si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Da-  
rent modo et consules et primores patrum operam ut,  
si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae  
ac senatui conciliarent. Praeceptis Appii moniti patres  
et universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare, et  
consulares, ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid iuris ad-  
versus singulos erat, partim gratia partim auctoritate  
obtinuere ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres vel-  
lent rei publicae esse; novemque tribunorum adver-  
sus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum  
consules habent. Inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo  
undique ex Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veien-  
tium gratia concitata quam quod in spem ventum erat  
discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Prin-  
cipesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fre-  
mebant aeternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet  
ipsi seditionibus saeviant. Id unum venenum, eam

5. **universi**: as a body, without regard to private relations. — **consulares**: *i.e.* particularly these, as persons of importance, who would be likely to have relatives and influence. — **aliquid iuris**, *any claims upon*, business, social, or other. — **gratia . . . auctoritate**: a good example of the difference between these words, the first referring to *personal* influence and popularity, the second to that arising from prominence in the community, and somewhat political in its nature. — **obtinuere**: belonging in sense also with **universi** (**patres**), as **appellare** also belongs with **consulares**, but the Latin so loves an antithesis that it makes one even where, as here, the precise form of the thought is disturbed by it; at the same time, by the present arrange-

ment, the main word is more closely connected with **consulares**, to which it most belongs. — **salubres**: in the view of the aristocracy, to which body any agitation on behalf of the commons always seemed pernicious. — **vellent**: *sc.* the tribunes implied in **ut cuique**, etc.

6. **novem**: cf. 33. 2, where five in all are mentioned, but Livy (or his authority) is writing from a later point of view; or, as some think, he wrote *quattuor* here, and **novem** is due to a later hand. — **moratorem**: cf. 43. 3.

7. **quo**: *i.e.* *ad Veios*, implied in **Veiens**.

8. **populorum**: *i.e.* the different cities, each independent, but under one league. — **saeviant**: the apodosis is *aeternas . . . esse*, which contains in it a future idea; cf.

- labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia  
 9 mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum partim  
 patrum consiliis partim patientia plebis iam ad extrema  
 venisse. Duas civitates ex una factas, suos cuique parti  
 10 magistratus, suas leges esse; primum in dilectibus sae-  
 vire solitos, eosdem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus.  
 Qualicumque urbis statu manente disciplina militari sisti  
 potuisse; iam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra  
 11 quoque Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsa  
 acie, in ipso certamine consensu exercitus traditam ultro  
 victoriam victis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem in  
 12 acie relictum, iniussu in castra reditum. Profecto, si  
 instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud  
 opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum, cetera sua  
 sponte fata et deos gesturos. Hae spes Etruscos arma-  
 verant multis in vicem casibus victos victoresque.
- 45 Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quam  
 suas vires, sua arma horrebant. Memoria pessimi pro-

Gr. 516. *d.* — **magna**: the emphasis represents the greatness as the cause or condition of the destruction. — **ut . . . essent**: taking the form of a result clause on account of **repertam**.

9. **sustentatum**: the emphasis gives the force, 'it had long been endured, but had now come to an outbreak.'

10. **eosdem**: *i.e.* though they had been turbulent in the conscription, yet these same persons who had been so had calmed their fury in war. — **qualicumque**: *i.e.* no matter how bad the civil condition was. — **manente**: of course with **disciplina**, but put first as containing the main idea. — **sisti potuisse**, they had been able to maintain themselves; cf. 29. 8. — **iam**: as often, of the gradual progress of a

thing; opposed to **primum** above. — **quoque**: *i.e.* as well as in the city at the time of the levy.

11. **proximo**, etc.: the final climax. — **acie**: this would refer to the time when the armies were only in array ready to fight, and so is less strong than **certamine**, which would mean only the moment of conflict. — **ultro**: *i.e.* the soldiers gave the victory, as it were, for nothing, voluntarily to their enemies who were already beaten (**victis**).

12. **si instetur**, if they pressed matters, *i.e.* as he goes on to show, and made war energetically in appearance. — **hae spes**, etc., it was these hopes that had, etc.

VEII AND THE ETRUSCANS.

45. **consules Romani**: though

ximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eo ubi  
 duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se<sup>2</sup>  
 tenebant tam ancipiti periculo aversi: diem tempusque  
 forsitan ipsum leniturum iras sanitatemque animis adla-  
 turum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere<sup>3</sup>  
 agere, lacessere ad pugnam primo obequitando castris  
 provocandoque, postremo, ut nihil movebant, qua con-  
 sules ipsos qua exercitum increpando: simulationem in-  
 testinae discordiae remedium timoris inventum, et con-  
 sules magis non confidere quam non credere suis militi-  
 bus. Novum seditionis genus silentium otiumque inter  
 armatos. Ad haec in novitatem generis originisque qua  
 falsa qua vera iacere. Haec cum sub ipso vallo portis<sup>5</sup>  
 que streperent, haud aegre consules pati; at imperitae  
 multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare  
 et ab intestinis avertere malis: nolle inultos hostes, nolle

the two nations are here contrasted, yet as it was the generals that were at variance with the soldiers, and whose state of mind is discussed; they take the prominent place. — **quoque**: *i.e.* they had the same feelings about the dissensions that the Etruscans had. — **ne . . . committerent**: cf. 9. 5. — **eo**: *i.e.* in eum locum; cf. *rem in casum ancipitis eventus committunt*, IV. 27. 6.

2. **ancipiti**: although modified by **tam** in its general sense of *dangerous*, yet it is used partly in its etymological sense of *double* in reference to the two perils. — **aversi**, *deterred*, *i.e.* from fighting. — **diem tempusque**: the first refers only to lapse of time, the second contains also a reference to circumstance. — **ipsum**, *alone*, without any action on their part. — **iras**: see Gr. 100. c.

3. **eo magis**: *i.e.* on account of the inactivity of the Romans. —

**nihil movebant**, *had no effect*, in arousing the Romans. — **qua . . . qua**: used three times in this chapter; see 4 and 16.

4. **simulationem**, etc.: *i.e.* that their civil dissensions were only a pretence to cover the real cowardice which prevented them from fighting. — **confidere**: in reference to their courage; **credere**: in reference to their fidelity and patriotism. — **novum**: emphatic, because the state described is just the opposite of mutiny. — **novitatem**: *i.e.* taunting the Romans as a young nation of upstarts, and sprung from criminals and bastards.

5. **haud aegre**, etc.: a skilful chiasmic arrangement, 'It was not at all UNWELCOME to the *consuls*, but filled the SOLDIERS with *indignation*.' — **intestinis**, *domestic*; *i.e.* the wrongs that had driven them to rebel. — **nolle**: still historical infinitive. — **inultos**: see Gr. 437. c. 8.

successum non patribus non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant externa: adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam, postulant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi capita conferunt, diu conloquuntur; pugnare cupiebant, sed retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum immaturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae esse: castris se tenerent. Edicunt inde ut abstineant pugna; si quis iniussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accendant insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisset pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se insultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque venisse Romano imperio.

— *nolle . . . non . . . non*: Gr. 327. 2. — *externa*: i.e. of the enemy; see Gr. 348. a (but cf. 348. N.). — *domestica*: i.e. of the patricians.

6. *superant*: we should expect *externa* first, but there is a rhetorical emphasis in reference to *certare*, like 'at length the contest is decided, and the victory remains with the hatred of the enemy.' — *adeo*: i.e. too much for them to bear. — *eludebat*, *insult them*; cf. I. 48. 2. — *praetorium*: the space in front of the general's tent (cf. 47. 5), but it may be translated *headquarters*. — *poscunt . . . postulant*: the first has more imperativeness in it than the second, though here the word is only varied for rhetorical effect.

7. *velut*: because their consultation was only a pretence, as they knew just what they wanted. — *pugnare*, etc., *to fight was just*

*what they were anxious for*, to translate the emphasis. — *retro*, etc.: a highly poetical expression for curbing the desire.

8. *redditur*: emphatic, as opposed to their *keeping back* their true intention, 'the answer that they gave was,' etc. — *agi*: i.e. that a plan was on foot that was not yet ready, apparently with a kind of irony; cf. *matura res erat*, II. — *edicunt*: used of the formal proclamation; important on account of the threat at the end.

9. *quo minus*, etc.: i.e. the less they think the consuls wish it, the more they desire it — *ferocius multo*: the emphasis is not on *multo* but on *ferocius*, 'they were still fiercer and bolder when the formal determination not to fight became known.' The adverb belongs grammatically with *accendant*, but modifies an implied *occursant*.

reti occursant portis, ingerunt probra, aegre absti-  
 quin castra oppugnent. Enimvero non ultra con- 11  
 liam pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad  
 iles curritur. Non iam sensim, ut ante, per centu-  
 m principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamo-  
 agunt. Matura res erat, tergiversantur tamen.  
 is deinde, ad crescentem tumultum iam metu sed- 12  
 s collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecis-  
 'Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; velle  
 irem ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum atque decretum 13  
 on dare signum, nisi victores se redituros ex hac  
 a iurant. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie  
 it, deos numquam fallit.' Centurio erat M. Fla-  
 as inter primos pugnae flagitator. 'Victor' in- 14  
 'M. Fabi, revertar ex acie;' si fallat, Iovem  
 m Gradiumque Martem aliosque iratos invocat  
 Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque  
 Iuratis datur signum. Arma capiunt; eunt in  
 am irarum speique pleni. Nunc iubent Etruscos 15  
 ra iacere, nunc armati sibi quisque lingua promp-

his: *i.e.* the ideas expressed  
 preceding discourse.

enimvero: equivalent to *tum*  
 out with a kind of colloquial  
 'really, now, they couldn't,  
 you see?' as it were. — *sen-*  
*tatively*, feeling their way;  
 4. — *matura*, etc.: cf. 8 n.;  
*ersantur*: in reference to the  
 nacted in the next section.

ad, *amid*, but almost with the  
 of the English *at*, containing  
 estion of cause. — *iam*: of  
 with *concedente*, but joined  
*netu*, as the cause which at  
 ces Manlius to yield. — *ego*:  
 mphasized, according to Ro-  
 iston, as an antithesis to *is-*  
*velle*: opposed to *posse*,

and implying, as usual in antithe-  
 ses, the rest of the clause, *istos*  
*vincere*. — *ne*: see Gr. 537. a. n.

13. *non dare . . . iurant*: both  
 containing an idea of futurity;  
 see Gr. 516. a. n., and cf. 468. —  
*fefellit*: as much as 'broken his  
 oath to,' an almost technical mean-  
 ing of *fallo*; cf. 14.

14. *si fallat: sc. deos*; the oath  
 is expressed in a kind of indirect  
 discourse, for *si fallo*, etc.; cf. I.  
 24. 8, and see Gr. 592. 2. — *iratos*,  
 etc.: a shorthand expression for  
 'the anger of' the gods. — *idem*:  
*i.e.* each man repeats the full oath.

15. *nunc*: belonging to *iacere*,  
 being quoted from the soldiers'  
 words. — *armati*: one would at

- 16 tum hostem offerri. Omnium illo die, qua plebis qua patrum, eximia virtus fuit: Fabium nomen, Fabia gens maxime enituit. Multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi reconciliare statuunt.
- 46 Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detrectant. Prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnatu-  
 2 ros quam pugnarent cum Aequis; maius quoque aliquod in tam inritatis animis et occasione ancipiti haud  
 3 desperandum esse facinus. Res aliter longe evenit. Nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus — adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant  
 4 — proelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordines spatium Etruscis fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abiectis temere magis quam emissis pugna iam in manus, iam  
 4 ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primos genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Quintum Fabium — tertio hic anno

first expect *armatis*, and indeed the reading is not certain; this clause also is a kind of quotation.

16. *qua . . . qua*: cf. 3 and 4. — *nomen . . . gens*: the same idea from two different points of view.

#### THE DECISIVE BATTLE.

46. *acies*: i.e. of the Romans. — *detrectant*: sc. *pugnam*, implied in the preceding. — *pugnarent*: for tense, see Gr. 585. *b. N.* — *Aequis*: cf. 44. II. — *quoque*: here approaching its later sense of *even*, though not losing its sense of *also*; 'they would do what they had done before, and also (even) something more,' — *ancipiti*, *critical*; the opportunity offered by the dangerous crisis is meant.

3. *pilis*, etc.: the regular tactics were to throw the javelins at the first onset, and then to press for-

ward with the sword to close quarters; but here the advance of the Romans was so fierce (*infestior*, 2) that steady aim was impossible, on account of the haste (*trepidationem*), and the javelins were merely thrown away, not shot at the enemy. — *temere*, *at random*. — *venerat*: the construction is that of Gr. 546. *a* (*cum inversum*), 'they had hardly had time to deploy, when they were already at close quarters.' In such cases either event can often be made the subordinate one, according to the momentary feeling of the narrative.

4. *inter primos*, *in the foremost rank*, following the old heroic method of fighting. The emphasis makes the statement a double one, 'they were in the front and were an example there'; cf. *principem* below. — *ferox*: cf. 1. 7. 5. — *grae-*

ante consul fuerat — principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto praeceptus Fabius in vulnus abiit. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebat- 5 que inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius consul transiluit iacentis corpus, obiectaque parma ‘Hoc iurastis’ inquit, ‘milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adeo igna- 6 vissimos hostis magis timetis quam Iovem Martemque, per quos iurastis? At ego iniuratus aut victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam.’ Consuli tum Caeso Fabius prioris anni consul: ‘Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent te impetraturum credis? Dii 7 impetrabunt, per quos iuravere. Et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius quam adhortando accendamus militum animos.’ Sic in primum infestis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

Proelio ex parte una restituto nihilo segnius in cornu 47 altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat; ubi prope similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu 2 Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium iam velut fusos agentem hostis et impigre milites secuti sunt, et, ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum

**ceps**, etc.: *i.e.* he fell forward on his wounded breast; a common representation, doubtless drawn from life.

5. **sensit**, etc.: *i.e.* the loss was felt by both entire armies, though that of only a single man. — **inde**, (from) *their position*; more definite than the common *loco*; cf. 47. 3. — **transiluit**: cf. *venerat*, 3 n. —

**obiecta**: *i.e.* in defence of the body and of himself. — **hoc**, *is this what?* — **fugientes**: opposed to *victores* in 45. 13.

6. **adeo**: the word here appears in the transition from its proper meaning of ‘to that degree’ to ‘therefore’ or ‘then.’ — **iniuratus**: and so not bound, as they were, to conquer or die. — **consuli**: a vivid substitute for a pronoun, almost in the modern rhetorical style.

7. **impetrabunt**: *i.e.* will force them to fight; we may leave it to the gods without exhortation to them. — **moverunt**, *carried*.

3 rati gradum rettulere ; cessissentque loco, ni consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso  
4 altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatham sustinuisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos. Simul et vanior iam erat hostium acies, dum abundante multitudine freti subtracta subsidia mittunt  
5 ad castra oppugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum praedae magis quam pugnae memores tererent tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam inruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiis quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium rede-  
6 unt, et sua sponte ipsi proelium renovant. Et Manlius consul revectus in castra ad omnes portas milite opposito hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit. Nam cum incursantes quacumque exitum ostenderet spes vano aliquotiens impetu issent, globus iuvenum unus in ipsum consulem,

#### VICTORY OF THE ROMANS.

47. 3. *rem inclinatham, the wavering battle.*

4. *coram*: *i.e.* in the presence of the soldiers. — *vanior, less solid*, the rear ranks being withdrawn. — *mittunt*: see note on *tererent* below.

5. *quae*: *sc. castra*. — *tererent*: see Gr. 556. a. N., and cf. I. 40. 7. The difference between this use of *dum* and the one in 4 is, that here we have the same kind of time which is used with *cum*, and the same causal implication; in the other case we have the ordinary use of the *dum* clause equivalent to a participle (see Gr. 492. N.). — *triarii*: according to the (supposed) later organization of the Roman army (see VIII. 8), these were the

oldest veterans and best fighters of the whole, composing the third line or reserve. But their weapon, the *pilum*, is mentioned in 46. 3, and they appear here as a constituent part of the force. We must either suppose that they were introduced earlier than Livy's account makes out, or that he allows himself an anachronism. — *praetorium*: cf. 45. 6. — *sua*, etc.: *i.e.* without orders; the expression is doubled for emphasis.

6. *et Manlius*: in consequence of the message of the *triarii*. — *viam*: *i.e.* the enemy, being in the camp, are now prevented from getting out. — *ea desperatio*: (like *is terror* and the like), the desperation proceeding from the shutting of the gates. — *unus*: here not very dif-

insignem armis, invadit. Prima excepta a circumstan- 7  
tibus tela, sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul morti-  
fero vulnere ictus cādit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis 8  
crescit audacia, Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos  
agit; et ad extrema ventum foret, ni legati raptu consu-  
lis corpore patefecissent una porta hostibus viam. Ea 9  
erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem  
alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum caesi fusique  
passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam  
claris funeribus. Itaque consul decernente senatu tri- 10  
umphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare pos-  
sit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum respondit:  
se familia funesta Quinti Fabi fratris morte, re publica  
ex parte orba consule altero amisso, publico privatoque  
deformem luctu lauream non accepturum. Omni acto 11  
triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit: adeo spreta  
in tempore gloria interdum cumulationior rediit. Funera  
deinde duo deinceps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in

ferent from *quidam*, but admissible as opposing the frenzy of one body to the action of the rest; cf. *una porta* in 8.

9. *consternato*: a rhetorical exaggeration, though, as the men were fleeing, although desperate, it is a natural one. — *iterum*: the first time is implied in *desperatio* in 6. — *caesi fusique*: not the same persons, of course, but the two are connected by *-que*, according to the Latin fashion. — *victoria*: one might at first think of supplying *erat*, but probably no such verb was in the author's mind, but the word is in a kind of apposition, to speak grammatically, with the previous description.

10. *decernente*: conative pres-

ent, so called; the senate was engaged in making the decree, but it could not take effect without being accepted. — *si exercitus*, etc.: *i.e.* so far as the army was concerned he had no objection, but he would not lead the triumph, and so it was impossible. — *funesta*: cf. 8. 7. — *orba*: as deprived of one of its parents, as it were. — *lauream*: the laurel wreath worn in the triumph, put as a symbol of the whole.

11. *omni, any*. — *acto*: the technical term for the celebration of a triumph, because the general and his army entered the city in procession. — *depositus*: as it was offered him, he could be said to lay it aside. — *in tempore*: like our *on occasion*. — *funera*: opposed to the

- utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse  
 12 maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor eius  
 quod initio consulatus imbiberat, reconciliandi animos  
 plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit patribus. Fabiis  
 plurimi dati, nec alibi maiore cura habiti. Inde popu-  
 lares iam esse Fabii, nec hoc ulla re nisi salubri rei  
 publicae arte.
- 48 Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiis K. Fa-  
 bius cum Tito Verginio consul factus neque bella neque  
 dilectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quam  
 ut iam aliqua ex parte incohata concordiae spe primo  
 quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent animi plebis.
- 2 Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agra-  
 riae legis auctor tribunus existeret, occuparent patres  
 ipsi suum munus facere, captivum agrum plebi quam  
 maxime aequaliter darent: verum esse habere eos, quo-  
 3 rum sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati patres  
 sunt, questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et

triumph, as these also had a proces-  
 sion; hence *ducit*. — *in utroque*,  
*in the case of each*, as often with  
*in*. — *laudator*: the technical word  
 for the *eulogist* who pronounced  
 the funeral oration. — *cum*: equiv-  
 alent to *wherein*; used like a par-  
 ticipial construction.

12. *eius*, of the policy. — *recon-  
 ciliandi*: in apposition with *eius*;  
 cf. *foros faciendos*, I. 56. 2 n., and  
 see Gr. 503. a. n. 2.

#### MEASURES FOR THE RELIEF OF THE PLEBS.

48. *studiis*, votes; literally, the  
 interest shown in his election. —  
 K: that is, *Caeso*; see Gr. I. a. n.  
 — *Fabius*: cf. 43. 1 and 46. 6.  
 — *Verginio*: the senate, on this  
 occasion, seems not to have been  
 obliged to concede a consul of the

plebeian party. — *coalescerent*: cf.  
 I. 11. 2.

2. *censuit*: i.e. in his first ad-  
 dress to the senate. — *tribunus*:  
 not emphatic; the idea is, 'before  
 any champion should arise, among  
 the tribunes (of course)'. — *ex-  
 sisteret*, should arise; see Gr. 551.  
 c. — *occuparent*, should anticipate  
 them; a device not unknown to mod-  
 ern politics. — *munus*: i.e. the ser-  
 vice to the plebs. — *verum*, fair, as  
 often. One wonders why this had  
 not occurred to the patricians be-  
 fore.

3. *aspernati*: naturally, such  
 abuses are not reformed by the  
 will of the wrongdoers. — *luxu-  
 riare*: the figure is derived from  
 the loss of vigor from overgrowth.  
 — *nullae*: emphatic, 'but there  
 were no party contests (as you

evanescere vividum quondam illud Caesonis ingenium. Nullae deinde urbanae factiones fuere. Vexabantur incursionibus Aequorum Latini. Eo cum exercitu Caeso 4 missus in ipsorum Aequorum agrum depopulandum transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt murisque se tenebant. Eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit.

At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius 5 consulis actumque de exercitu foret, ni Caeso Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit; res proxime formam latrocinii venerat: legionibus Romanis cede- 6 bant in urbem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus; aut mox moturos esse appare- 7 bat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque omnem. Sed 7 Veiens hostis, adsiduus magis quam gravis, contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod nullo tempore neglegi poterat aut averti alio sinebat. Tum Fabia 8 gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur: 'Ad-

might expect), *foreign* (opposed to *urbanae*) war occupied their minds.' — *vexabantur*: opposed to *nullae*, 'they were troubled,' etc.

4. *eo*: i.e. in *Latinos*. — *transit*: i.e. across the borders.

5. *Veiente*: i.e. but with the people of Veii they did not come off so easily, and in fact, etc. — *formam*: see Gr. 432. a.

6. *cedebant*, they retired before. — *eludentes*, evading, with a feeling of the original meaning, *dodge*, or *parry*. — *tota*: with the force of an adverb; see Gr. 290. — *trans-*

*iret*: one would expect *dum*, but the phrase seems used like *priusquam* and other forms with *quam* (without *ut*). One could say, *tam diu dolor transit*, so long as, etc., in passing, and correspondingly, *diutius quam dolor transit*; from that would come the subjunctive, by a kind of indirect discourse, — *quiescentibus*: continuing present for future.

7. *neglegi*, *averti*: impersonal. — *alio*: i.e. *ad aliam rem*; cf. *vos alia bella curate*, 8.

8. *consul*: Caeso. — *auctores*

siduo magis quam magno praesidio, ut scitis, patres conscripti, bellum Veiens eget. Vos alia bella curate, Fabios hostis Veientibus date. Auctores sumus tutam ibi  
 9 maiestatem Romani nominis fore. Nostrum id nobis velut familiare bellum privato sumptu gerere in animo  
 10 est; res publica et milite illic et pecunia vacet.' Gratiae ingentes actae. Consul e curia egressus comitante Fabiorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiae senatus consultum expectantes steterant, domum redit. Iussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse, domos inde discedunt.

49 Manat tota urbe rumor. Fabios ad caelum laudibus ferunt: familiam unam subisse civitatis onus, Veiens  
 2 bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum; si sint duae roboris eiusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos; populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die arma capiunt, quo iussi erant conveni-  
 3 unt. Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium signa ferri iubet. Numquam exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et admiratione homi-  
 4 num per urbem incessit: sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem

sumus, *we will guarantee*; no doubt one of the earliest meanings of *auctor*. — *ibi*: *i.e. apud Fabios*.

9. *nostrum*, etc.: here we have a favorite Latin emphasis on pronouns, which gives the force, 'this *our own* domestic war, *we* purpose to carry on as such.' — *illic*: *i.e. in eo bello*.

in this passage, contrary to the general practice of Livy.

3. *paludatus*: the regular general's robe, as in a formal war, marks the solemnity of the occasion; cf. I. 26. 2, where, however, the word is used of a subordinate's dress. — *in vestibulo*: unquestionably in ancient times a large forecourt or 'dooryard' in front of the house, but in all the Roman houses we know, so dwarfed as to become only a little recess at the front

#### MARCH OF THE FABII.

49. 2. *si sint*: see Gr. 517. e. — *postera*: the reading approved

sperneres, egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae viribus Veienti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba, propria alia cognatorum 5 sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, 6 ire felices iubent, inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare. Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcem- 7 que et alia templa, quidquid deorum oculis, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. In cassum missae preces. Infelici via, dextro 8 Iano portae Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio.

door; cf. 48. 10, where it is evidently incorporated in the building like a *pronaos*.

4. *sperneres*: see Gr. 447. 2.

5. *turba*: *i.e.* of those who accompanied the warriors to the gates. — *propria*: opposed in thought, though not in form, to *publica* (the general crowd, whose interest was not personal). — *nihil medium*: *i.e.* of no moderate fortune; it was either supreme glory or utter ruin. — *immensa*, *boundless possibilities*. — *favore, enthusiasm*.

6. *ire*, etc.: *i.e.* they hailed them with cries of *ite fortes, ite felices, go in your prowess, go with good fortune*. — *ab se*: *i.e.* as the citizens who would vote these honors.

7. *praetereuntibus*: *sc. eis* (dative); the Latin has a fondness for omitting pronouns when there is any word which would indicate the case omitted. — *Capitolium*: they passed by under the hill, of which

the towering buildings would be plainly visible. — *quidquid deorum*: a colloquial form of expression which gradually after Cicero's time became common in literature. — *animo*: more for rhetorical effect than precision, but still some gods might be suggested to their minds by association, whose temples did not meet their eyes. — *precantur*: *sc. the crowd*.

8. *infelici*: so called afterwards, on account of this disastrous expedition. — *Iano*: as all entrances were sacred to this god, his name came to stand for arches through which a road passed; cf. I. 19. 2. — *Carmentalis*: the gate next to the Capitol, between that and the river. It led out through the Campus, and was afterwards called *Scelerata* (Aur. Victor, 12). — *Cremeram*: a little river flowing by Veii and emptying into the Tiber, some six miles from Rome. The

- 9 L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem  
 10 fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae comminus cum Etruscis dimicant acie. Quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium  
 11 Veientibus fuit: adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo  
 12 incipiendae sed consistendi ademittit locum. Ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra — ibi castra habebant — pacem supplices petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis levitate ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.
- 50 Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo sine ullo maioris belli apparatu certamen, nec erant incursiones modo in agros aut subiti impetus *in* incursantes, sed aliquotiens aequo campo conlatisque signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res  
 2 erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tulit. Id primo acer-

garrison was thus lower down the stream, on the road from Veii into the Roman territory.

10. *quamquam*: correcting the use of the word *acie*.

11. *trepidationem*: cf. 46. 3. — *post signa*, etc.: in the line of battle the standards were placed in the front rank. — *ala*: in its later sense of *squadron*.

12. *Saxa Rubra*: a place still distinguishable near where the Flaminian Way crosses the Cremera (*Valchetta*). — *cuius impetratae*:

according to Latin idiom for 'which they obtained, but before,' etc. — *ab*: cf. I. 31. 4 n. — *ante*, etc.: *i.e.* before it was withdrawn, as it was to have been, in accordance with the terms of the treaty. — *paenituit*: implying that they began hostilities again, so that the Fabii remained.

DESTRUCTION OF THE FABII.

50. *rursus*: in allusion to the projected return of the Fabii; see *deductum*, 49. 12.

bum indignumque Veientibus est visum ; inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi. Gaudere etiam multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque 4 et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, velut casu incidissent, obviam acta, et agrestium fuga vasti relictis agri, et subsidia armatorum ad arcendas populationes missa saepius simulato quam vero pavore refugerunt. Iam- 5 que Fabii adeo contempserant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Haec spes provexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora, quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma, decurrerent. Et cum 6 improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent, palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore iniecto, raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique hostes erant. Primo clamor circumla- 7 tus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant ; coeuntibusque Etruscis iam continenti agmine armatorum saepti, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogeantur brevior spatio et ipsi orbem colligere ; quae res et paucitatem eorum insignem et multitudinem Etruscorum multiplicatis in arto ordinibus faciebat. Tum omissa 9

3. **ex re natum** : *i.e.* suggested by the circumstances. — **insidiis** : emphatic ; since they had failed in open fight, they resolved to try a stratagem, for which the situation was favorable. — **ferocem** : cf. I. 7. 5. — **gaudere** : as opposed to the first bitter feeling (**acerbum**, etc.).

4. **velut** : cf. 44. 1. — **vasti, deserted**, to invite pillage.

5. **sua** : emphatic, as opposed to **hostem**, from the habit of emphasizing persons. — **invicta, invincible**, as often with the perfect passive participle. — **provexit** : the object *eos* is omitted because it is

the same as the following subject. This economy of pronouns is characteristic of Latin. — **rara** : although this is emphatic, yet the main thought is that the armed forces did appear ; an example of the familiar crowding of two statements into one.

6. **adversi, in front**, as usual.

7. **circumlatus** : *i.e.* it began in one spot, and was echoed from one band to another. — **accidebant, began to meet them**. — **continenti** : *i.e.* the scattered bands of the enemy closed up and united in a continuous circle. — **quo magis** : cf. 19. 10 n.

pugna, quam in omnes partis parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eo nisi corporibus  
 10 armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem. Inde primo resistere; mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo circummissus Veiens in  
 11 verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex perisse satis convenit, unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium.

51 Cum haec accepta clades est iam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos  
 2 victoria elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupavere; obsesaque urbs foret super bellum annona premente — transi-

9. *parem*, *alike*; adjective for adverb, as often. — *eo nisi*, *forcing their way there* (to that). — *viam*: see Gr. 388. *d.*

10. *inde*: as their resistance was directed forward from their standpoint, Livy can say *from there* where we should say *there*. — *vincebat*... *evasisset*: see Gr. 517. *b.* — *paucitas*, *the few*; a bold expression, but used in the same manner as *multitudo* and similar words in a concrete sense.

11. *praesidium*: the fortified camp they had erected; cf. 49. 8. — *puberem*: he was consul ten years later (B.C. 467), so that he must have been a tolerably large boy at the time. — *aetate*: it is difficult to say whether Livy means to connect *this* with *puberem* (cf. *maior natu*) or with *relictum*. Historians vary

in their statements as to whether he was *left* at home or *left* from the slaughter, but Livy's words seem to indicate the latter, in which case the word goes better with *puberem*. — *auxilium*: e.g. Q. Fabius Maximus and Fabius Cunctator. Cf. Ov. *F.* II. 239 *seq.*

#### ROME BESIEGED.

51. *est*: see Gr. 545. N. 1. — C. Horatius: son of Marcus; see 8. 5. — Menenius: son of Menenius Agrippa; see 32. 8. — *victoria elatos*: and so impliedly making a demonstration at Rome after the defeat of the Fabii. It is to be remembered that these hostile cities were only two or three hours' ride apart.

2. *quoque*: as well as in the case of the Fabii. — *Etrusci*: cf.

erant enim Etrusci Tiberim — ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus; adeoque id bellum ipsis instituit moenibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quamquam 3 parvo momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem recepto pristino animo in futura proelia id certamen fecit.

A. Verginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post 4 acceptam proximam pugnae cladem Veientes abstinuerunt acie. Populationes erant, et velut ab arce Ianiculi passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant. Non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde eadem 5 arte sunt qua ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita opera passim ad inlecebras propulsa pecora praecipitavere in insidias. Quo plures erant, maior caedes fuit. Ex hac 6 clade atrox ira maioris cladis causa atque initium fuit. Traiecto enim nocte Tiberi castra Servili consulis adorti sunt oppugnare. Inde fusi magna caede in Ianiculum se aegre recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit 7 Tiberim, castra sub Ianiculo communit. Postero die

49. 10, where they are represented as assisting their kinsmen. — **ex Volscis**: Livy forgets to mention his being sent there; the full account would be like 40. 14, but dryness and repetition must be avoided, at all hazards. Livy has dropped the Volsci since 42. 9, to take up the more picturesque and sensational Veian war. — **ad Spei**: *sc. aedem*; an omission frequent in Livy after prepositions; see Gr. 343. n. 2. The temple was only a mile from the Esquiline gate. The Etruscans doubtless crossed below, and cut off the communications of the city by the Tiber and by Latium.

3. **momento**, *degree*, the figurative use of the word originally com-

ing from weight on the steelyards. — **meliores**: notice the emphasis; the advantage was slight, but there was an *improvement* in the *morale* of the soldiers.

4. **proximam**: the one mentioned in 2. — **velut ab arce**, etc.: two statements are again crowded into one; *i.e. ab Ianiculo velut ab arce*. — **Ianiculi**: see Gr. 343. d.

5. **secuti**, etc.: a shorthand way of telling the story of 50. 4 *seq.* — **dedita opera**: with **propulsa**. — **plures**: *i.e.* than the Fabii.

6. **ex hac clade**: as *ira* has in it a slight verbal idea, it allows a prepositional phrase as an attribute even more naturally than in other cases; but see Intr. 9. h.

- luce orta nonnihil et hesternā felicitate pugnae ferox,  
magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in praeci-  
pitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere ad-  
8 verso Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque  
inde pulsus quam pridie pepulerat, interventu collegae  
9 ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci,  
cum in vicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione oc-  
cisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.
- 52 Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit et advecto  
ex Campania frumento et, postquam timor sibi cuique  
futuræ inopiae abiit, eo quod additum fuerat prolato.
- 2 Ex copia deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi et pris-  
tina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. Tri-  
buni plebem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege, in resi-  
stentis incitare patres, nec in universos modo sed  
3 in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores  
agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiae erat  
amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum haud procul inde  
4 stativa consul habuisset. Ea oppressit, cum et patres  
haud minus quam pro Coriolano adnisi essent, et patris

7. *et*: the correlative is displaced by *magis tamen*. — *tamen*: *i.e.* though somewhat from confidence, yet more from the pressure of famine. — *quamvis*, etc.: *i.e.* in *consilia quamvis praecipitia dum*, etc. — *essent*: see Gr. 528.

TRIAL OF MENENIUS AND SERVI-  
LIUS.

52. *urbi*: as opposed to *Veiens bellum*. — *laxior*: with the same figure that we use in 'a tight money-market.' — *advecto*: the Tiber being now re-opened. — *sibi cuique*, etc.: a compressed form, representing *quam sibi quisque timuerat* or *futuram putaverat*. — *futuræ*: cf. Gr. 499. 1. — *additum*: *i.e.* it had

been hoarded from fear of future want, but is now brought into the market.

2. *animi*: *i.e.* *plebis*. — *suo*, *their regular*. — *veneno*: the figure taken from sorcery, in which drugs were used to bewitch.

3. *diem dicunt*: *i.e.* as tribunes bring in a bill against them before the *comitia tributa*. — *invidiae erat*: *i.e.* made him unpopular. — *stativa*: not mentioned before, but Livy has probably here changed his source, and is following some other authority.

4. *oppressit*: *sc. eum*. — *Coriolano*: cf. 35. 4. — *Agrippae*: cf. 32. 8. — *haud procul*: found only in Livy and Silius Italicus.

Agrippae favor haudum exolevisset. In multa tempe- 5  
rarunt tribuni: cum capitis anquisissent, duo milia aeris  
damnato multam edixerunt. Ea in caput vertit. Ne-  
gant tulisse ignominiam aegritudinemque; inde morbo  
absumptum esse.

Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, 6  
C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus initio statim anni ab  
L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dicta, non ut Me-  
nenius precibus suis aut patrum, sed cum multa fiducia  
innocentiae gratiaeque tribunicios impetus tulit. Et 7  
huic proelium cum Tuscis ad Ianiculum erat crimini.  
Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo ante, sic  
tum in suo, non tribunos modo sed plebem oratione  
feroci refutando exprobrandoque T. Meneni damnatio-  
nem mortemque, cuius patris munere restituta quondam  
plebs eos ipsos quibus tum saeviret magistratus, eas  
leges haberet, periculum audacia discussit. Iuvit et 8  
Verginius collega testis productus participando laudes,  
magis tamen Menenianum — adeo mutaverant animum  
— profuit iudicium.

Certamina domi finita. Veiens bellum exortum, qui-53  
bus Sabini arma coniunxerant. P. Valerius consul ac-  
citis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis cum exercitu

5. *in multa*: *i.e.* they contented themselves with a fine, without asking for exile. — *capitis*, etc.: *i.e.* they had brought a charge involving the loss of life, either bodily or civil. — *ea in caput*, etc.: *i.e.* the fine, not intended to be a 'capital' punishment, as affecting the accused's existence (see above), became such by its after-effects. — *esse*: with *dicunt* implied in *negant* (*dicunt non*).

7. *periculo*: cf. 51. 8. — *refutando*, by *upbraiding*; properly,

by showing their claims to be unfounded and the action base. — *exprobrando*, by *reproaching them with*. — *saeviret* . . . *haberet*: see Gr. 592. 2. — *discussit*, *averted*; properly 'shattered,' as of something overhanging and threatening to fall.

8. *participando*: *i.e.* by sharing his own glory with the accused.

WAR WITH VEII AND THE  
SABINES.

53. *accitis*, etc.: cf. 33. 4 and

- Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus socio-  
rum locata erant, confestim adgreditur, tantamque tre-  
pidationem iniecit ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim  
excurrunt ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta cui signa  
2 primum intulerat caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes  
magis quam proelium esse. Tumultus e castris et in  
urbem penetrat; tamquam Veis captis ita pavidī Ve-  
ientes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars  
Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra adoriuntur.  
3 Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utroque  
versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule immissus Tus-  
cos fundit fugatque; eademque hora duo exercitus, duae  
potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes superatae  
sunt.
- 4 Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aequeque in  
Latino agro posuerant castra populatique fines erant.  
Eos per se ipsi Latini adsumptis Hernicis sine Romano  
5 aut duce aut auxilio castris exuerunt. Ingenti praeda  
praeter suas recipertas res potiti sunt. Missus tamen  
ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius. Mos, credo,  
non placebat sine Romano duce exercituque socios pro-  
6 priis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus  
calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est,  
nec tamen percelli potuere ut acie dimicarent.
- 54 L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Ve-  
ientes provincia evenit. Non tamen bellatum; indutiae

41. 1. — *sociorum*: *i.e.* the Veientes. — *alii alia*: *i.e.* they run different *ways*, not referring necessarily to *gates*, though that is included in the general idea.

3. *aversi*: *i.e.* the Romans. — *utroque*: *i.e.* towards the now reinforced Sabines, and towards the second mentioned part of the enemy.

5. *tamen*: *i.e.* notwithstanding that the war was ended without Roman help. — *gerere*: contrary to the usual *ut* construction with *mos*, but no doubt suggested by the simple infinitive after that word, which is not so uncommon.

6. *calamitatis*: *i.e.* by ravages and inroads. — *contumeliae*: cf. 48. 7.

in annos quadraginta petentibus datae frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externae confestim continuatur<sup>2</sup> discordia domi. Agrariae legis tribuniciiis stimulis plebs furebat. Consules nihil Meneni damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii summa vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius tribunus plebis arripuit. L. Aemilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt. Vo<sup>3</sup> piscum Iulium pro Verginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno—quoscumque consules habuit—rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis quam iuniores patrum. Sua<sup>4</sup> dent, monent, honoribus et administratione rei publicae abstineant; consulares vero fasces, praetextam, curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus velut infulis velatos ad mortem destinari. Quod si consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, iam nunc<sup>5</sup> ita in animum inducant, consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse; consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. Si se commoverit, si respexerit patres,<sup>6</sup> si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica crediderit,

PEACE WITH VEIL. ASSASSINATION  
OF THE TRIBUNE GENUCIUS.

54. provincia: cf. 40. 14 n.—*tamen*: i.e. though one of the consuls had the war as his province.

2. *continuatur*, *succeeds*; lit. 'joins on to.'—*abeuntes*: as long as they were in office they were unassailable.—*arripuit*: the figure is derived from the actual arrest of the defendant in a civil suit.

3. *rei*: Livy does not mention the charge, but it was so purely a political contest that this is unimportant.—*sordidati*: in mourning apparel, the usual dress of suppliants.—*iuniores patrum*: obvi-

ously for support by force of arms and violence.

4. *suadent*, etc.: this, of course, is only a rhetorical picture of their own condition, not intended for any instruction. It is another chance for Livy to make a speech.—*honoribus*, *office*, including at that time only the quaestorship and consulship.—*pompam funeris*: i.e. like the display in a funeral procession, only to escort the person to his grave.—*insignibus*, etc.: changing the figure, he compares the same marks of honor to the decorations of a sacrificial victim.

5. *iam nunc*: i.e. before they went into politics.

- exsiliū Cn. Marci, Meneni damnationem et mortem sibi  
 7 proponat ante oculos. His accensi vocibus patres consilia inde non publica sed in privato seductaque a plurimum conscientia habuere. Vbi cum id modo constaret, iure an iniuria eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quaeque maxime placebat sententia, nec auctor quamvis audaci  
 8 facinori deerat. Igitur iudicii die cum plebs in foro erecta expectatione staret, mirari primo quod non descenderet tribunus; dein, cum iam mora suspectior fieret, deterritum a primoribus credere, et desertam ac prodigi  
 9 tam causam publicam queri; tandem qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant nuntiant domū mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Praecipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacratae leges haberent, morte collegae monitos.  
 10 Nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam, adeoque neminem noxiae paenitebat ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.
- 55 Sub hac pessimi exempli victoria dilectus edicitur; paventibusque tribunis sine intercessione ulla consules  
 2 rem peragunt. Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse

7. *accensi*, etc.: the harangue had the intended effect. — *non publica*: *i.e.* it was a secret conspiracy. — *an*: the word of question on which this should depend is only implied in *modo constaret*, which indicates a debate of which the result was *eripiendos*, etc., but the other question, *iure an iniuria*, remained undecided; cf., for a less striking case of the same, I. 33. 8. — *auctor*, *agent*; properly, 'responsible party.'

8. *igitur*, etc.: a masterly touch of description. The necessary plot and means are described, and Livy skips with an 'accordingly' to the dramatic scene of the discovery of the death.

10. *malo domandam*: cf. 34. 11.

PUBLILIUS VOLERO, THE AUTHOR OF THE PUBLILIAN LAW.

55. *sub*, *after*, though the Latin says a little more than this.

2. *silentio*: cf. 45. 4 and 57. 4.

de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum, cum Genucio uno mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud agendum ac cogitandum, quo modo resistatur patribus: id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa 3 plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quattuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus, et eos ipsos plebis homines. Nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si sint qui contempnant; sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad 4 Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. 5 Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et virgas expediri iubent. 'Provoco' inquit 'ad populum' Volero, 'quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt quam ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari.' Quo ferocius clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero 6 et praevalens ipse et adluvantibus advocatis repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eo se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans 'Provoco 7 et fidem plebis imploro: adeste cives, adeste commilito-

— ad antiqua: *i.e.* before the institution of tribunes. — aliud agendum, they must take some other course; a general idea explained by cogitandum. — resistatur: a deliberative question, made indirect; see Gr. 575. b.

3. quattuor et viginti: cf. i. 8. — apparere: cf. apparitori, 54. 5. — plebis homines: cf. de plebe hominem, 4. — contemptius, contemptible, as often with the perfect passive participle.

4. ordines, etc.: *i.e.* he had been a centurion; cf. 23. 4.

5. spoliari, to be stripped. — ipsi: attracted into agreement with the subject, for which this word has a particular fondness. — circumscindere: *i.e.* his clothes, as he resisted.

6. advocatis: persons accompanying a party, properly in court, as advisers, or to give him aid and moral support. — pro se: the use of the reflexive makes the clause the idea of the subject.

7. provoco: official, the continuation of the words in 5. — fidem, etc.: an informal request for help

- nes. Nihil est quod exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsi  
 8 vestro auxilio opus est.' Concitati homines veluti ad  
 proelium se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen  
 adesse, nihil cuiquam sanctum non publici fore non pri-  
 9 vati iuris. Huic tantae tempestati cum se consules ob-  
 tulissent, facile experti sunt parum tutam maiestatem  
 sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis e  
 foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti quatenus Volero  
 10 exerceret victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu cum  
 in senatum vocari iussissent, queruntur iniurias suas,  
 11 vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis  
 sententiis vicere seniores, quibus ira patrum adversus  
 temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.
- 56 Volerone[m] amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis  
 tribunum plebi creat in eum annum qui Lucium Pina-  
 2 rium P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium  
 opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus per-  
 missurum tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam  
 privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consuli-  
 bus rogationem tulit ad populum ut plebei magistratus  
 3 tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res sub titulo  
 prima specie minime atroci ferebatur, sed quae patri-  
 ciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi

at the moment, as well as at the trial of the appeal; cf. 23. 8 n. — *quod*: see Gr. 390. d. — *exspectetis*: see Gr. 535. a.

8. *omne discrimen*, a general struggle; not for some particular point, but one in which the whole state was at stake.

9. *incerti*, etc.: a euphemistic way of saying they were afraid of their lives.

10. *vocari*: the subject is so obvious that it is omitted.

11. *vicere*, prevailed.

VOLERO PROPOSES HIS LAW.

56. 2. *permissurum*, *devote*: lit. 'give over.' — *post*: with *habito*; elsewhere Livy uses the dative with *posthabere*. — *ad populum*: it is doubtful before what body Livy conceived the law to have been proposed; perhaps he had no clear idea, but most likely it was the *comitia tributa*; cf. 15.

3. *clientium*: according to Livy, these had the right to vote, but in what body is uncertain. — *auferet*: see Gr. 535.

quos vellent tribunos auferret. Huic actioni gratissi-  
mae plebi cum summa vi resisterent patres, nec, quae  
una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex  
collegio auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci  
posset, res tamen suo ipsa molimine gravis certamini-  
bus in annum extrahitur. Plebs Voleronem tribunum  
reficit: patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem ven-  
turam, Ap. Claudium Appi filium, iam inde a paternis  
certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faci-  
unt; collega ei Titus Quinctius datur.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege ageba-  
tur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius collega  
eius auctor cum recentior tum acrior erat. Ferocem  
faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod aetatis eius haud  
quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil  
praeterquam de lege loqueretur, insectatione abstinens  
consulum, ipse in accusationem Appi familiaeque super-

4. **actioni**: the magistrate was said *agere cum populo*. — **quae**: referring to the *ut* clause, which, however, depends immediately on **adduci**. — **resistendum**: Livy carelessly uses this word in a slightly different sense from that of **resisterent** above, which only means attempt to resist. — **aliquis**: this should be properly the subject of **posset**, but the sentence is confused by the parenthetical relative clause. It ought to read *neque quisquam ut intercederet adduci posset, quae una vis*, etc., but the parenthesis carries with it the *ut* clause, and we have **aliquis** and no subject for **posset**. — **tamen**: again a slight confusion of thought. The real idea is, 'This was a measure most agreeable to the *plebs*, but the senate resisted, and though they failed to secure the only effectual means, yet in spite of the zeal of the people and the

fact that no tribune could be won over to stay proceedings, the importance of the matter delayed it for a whole year' *i.e.* beyond the term of office of Publilius. — **molimine gravis**, *difficult from its importance*; lit. 'heavy from its own weight.'

5. **paternis**: cf. 27. 1. — **datur**: cf. 43. 11 n., and see the conduct of Quinctius, ch. 15.

6. **anni**: naturally of the consul's term. — **ut . . . sic**: almost equal to *though . . . yet*. The idea is, 'But the struggle was with a different adversary, though (while) Volero was the inventor, yet (so also) Laetorius was a champion, a fresher and more energetic man, so that he now takes the lead.'

7. **ferocem, audacious**: confident and violent at the same time, as is explained in the following. — **familiae**, etc.: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1. 4.

- bissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Romanam exorsus,  
 8 cum a patribus non consulem sed carnificem ad vexan-  
 dam et lacerandam plebem creatum esse contenderet,  
 rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati  
 9 animoque. Itaque deficiente oratione 'Quando quidem  
 non facile loquor' inquit, 'Quirites, quam quod locutus  
 sum praesto, crastino die adeste. Ego hic aut in con-  
 10 spectu vestro moriar, aut perferam legem.' Occupa-  
 bant tribuni templum postero die; consules nobilitasque  
 ad impediendam legem in contione consistunt. Submo-  
 veri Laetorius iubet praeterquam qui suffragium ineant.  
 11 Adulescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori. Tum  
 ex his preñdi quosdam Laetorius iubet. Consul Ap-  
 pius negare ius esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in ple-  
 12 beium: non enim populi sed plebis eum magistratum  
 esse; nec illum ipsum submovere pro imperio posse

3, *vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia*. — *exorsus*: as so often, two statements in one sentence. 'While Volero confined himself to the law, Laetorius proceeded to personalities, but having begun, he found his eloquence unequal to the subject, and so,' etc.

8. *rudis in*, etc.: *i.e.* as would be natural in a soldier. — *libertati animoque*, *his independent spirit*.

9. *quam*: correlative with a *tam* implied in *non facile*. — *crastino*: the day of the *comitia*. — *perferam*: of course this all looks towards expected violence from the patricians.

10. *occupant*: *i.e.* take possession in advance of their opponents. — *templum*: the *tribunal*, or raised platform. — *in contione*: apparently the first assembling of citizens at a *comitia* was *contio*, in which they were informed, by the presiding magistrates, of the 'object of

the meeting' and the questions at issue. This was dismissed by the order *discedite ad suffragium*, upon which the citizens took their respective places in order to vote. — *submoveri*: the regular word for clearing the way; here to be kept back as outsiders from hindering the proceedings. So far as Livy's words go, there is no indication that the patricians claimed the right to vote.

11. *stant*: *i.e.* they refused to move. — *viatori*: the officer of the tribunes, or of any magistrate. — *preñdi*: the usual practice of magistrates to enforce their orders. — *negare*, etc.: apparently a new claim resting on a quibble. Such new or forced interpretations of law are still common on occasions of political excitement. There is nothing like a party contest to produce 'implied powers' or 'strict constructions.'

12. *illum ipsum*: *i.e.* *magistra-*

more maiorum, quia ita dicatur 'Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites.' Facile et contemptim de iure disse-  
rendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira <sup>13</sup>  
tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem  
ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine  
magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio <sup>14</sup>  
omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et  
concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatae  
multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertina-  
cia tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento <sup>15</sup>  
proelio foret, ni Quinctius consul alter, consularibus neg-  
otio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro  
abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenis-  
set, nunc orasset tribunos ut concilium dimitterent;  
darent irae spatium, non vim suam illis tempus ademp- <sup>16</sup>  
turum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et patres in  
populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo aegrius consul <sup>57</sup>  
alter a patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis sena- <sup>2</sup>  
tum consules habent. Vbi cum timor atque ira in vicem  
sententias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab  
impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plus abhorre-

*tum populi.* — *pro imperio*, arbitrarily, in the exercise of his supreme authority without special cause. — *quia ita*, etc.: again a quibble, founded on the standing polite phrase addressed to the citizens when the voting was to begin. — *facile*: as being an educated patrician, learned in the law of which Laetorius had no knowledge. — *et contemptim*: Livy, by these words, seems to give the idea that Appius knew his claims were founded on mere quibbles, but that even with these he could confuse the other.

<sup>13.</sup> *ardens*: the tribune, not being able to cope with his adversary in argument, loses his patience and proceeds to violence. — *privatum*: i.e. the tribune, so far as his present action was concerned; in fact, as he had no *imperium*, it might be claimed that he was *privatus* in general.

<sup>15.</sup> *concilium*: i.e. the *contio*.

THE LAW IS CARRIED.

<sup>57. 2.</sup> *quo magis*, etc.: i.e. the longer their anger had to cool, the less they were disposed to fight.

- bant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quinctio gratias agerent quod eius opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem maiestatem esse vellet, quanta esse in concordi civitate posset. Dum consules tribuniq̃ ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rem publicam; magis quorum in manu sit quam ut incolumis sit quaeri. Appius contra testari deos atque homines rem publicam prodi per metum ac deserere; non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse; graviore accipi leges quam in Sacro monte acceptae sint. Victus tamen patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.
- 58 Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt. Numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, Cn. Siccium L. Numitorium M. Duellium Sp. Icilium L. Mecilium.
- 3 Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet; compositis deinde rebus castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus, Quinctio Aequi provincia evenit. Eadem in militia saevitia Appi quae domi esse, liberior,

3. *tantam, only so great, as often;* cf. I. 9. 1.

4. *silentio:* cf. 55. 2. — *perfertur:* of course at a new assembly.

#### WAR WITH THE VOLSCI AND AEQUI.

58. *tum primum, etc.:* it seems impossible that this should be true. It is difficult to see what assembly, in Livy's view, chose them before. The probability is that he knew *really no more* about it than we do, *but, as usual,* is writing a pictur-

esque history, of which this statement forms an important item, and that he does not stop to make a consistent theory of the whole matter. If he had, he perhaps would never have given us his 'pictured page' at all. — *numero, etc.:* cf. 33. 2; 44. 6. The whole matter is involved in the greatest uncertainty.

3. *vastaverant . . . ut, etc.:* the *ut* clause belongs really to the occupation of the territory implied in *vastaverant*; cf. *retro movere*.

4. *quae domi:* sc. fuerat. —

quod sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus 5  
quam paterno odio: quid? se victum ab ea, se unico consul  
electo adversus tribuniciam potestatem perlatam  
legem esse, quam minore conatu nequaquam tanta pa-  
trum spe priores impediunt consules? Haec ira in 6  
dignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum saevo imperio  
exercitum stimulabat. Nec ulla vi domari poterat:  
tantum certamen animis imbiberant. Segniter otiose, 7  
neglegenter contumaciter omnia agere. Nec pudor nec  
metus coarcebat. Si citius agi vellet agmen, tardius se-  
dulo incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua  
sponte motam remittere industriam; praesenti vultus 8  
demittere, tacite praetereuntem execrari, ut invictus  
ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur. Omni 9  
nequiquam acerbitate prompta nihil iam cum militibus  
agere, a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere, tri-  
bunos plebei cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare.

Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant instabantque eo magis, 59  
sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium  
habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium  
consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio quam Fabio 2  
violentior fuit: non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabi-

esse: a rather harsh historical infinitive.

5. *odisse*, he showed his hatred to. — *quid*: the MSS. give *quod*, which has no meaning; nor is *quid* much better, but may be justified by Livy's rhetorical tendency. — *unico*: i.e. as the one consul likely to accomplish the purpose of the aristocracy.

6. *nec*, and yet . . . not. — *poterat*: sc. *exercitus*. — *imbiberant*: sc. the common soldiers.

7. *adesset*: see Gr. 518. c.

8. *tacite*: with *execrari*. — in-

*victus*: cf. *contemptus*, 55. 3 n. — *odio*: ablative of respect with *invictus*. — *plebeio*: see Gr. 348. a.

9. *prompta*, etc.: i.e. having exhausted his means of coercion, he gave up dealing with the soldiers themselves. — *cavillans*, in bitter jest.

#### SUCCESS OF THE VOLSCI.

59. *Fabium*: cf. 43. 6.

2. *Appio*: the dative is occasioned by the idea 'Appius found his army more violent than Fabius,' so that the case does not depend

- anus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra, nec ante restitit quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque ex-
- 3 tremi agminis caedem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnam, ut victor iam a vallo submoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tantum castra militem Romanum
- 4 noluisse, alibi gaudere sua clade atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus cum insuper saevire vellet contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique monentes, ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cuius vis omnis in consensu oboedientium esset.
- 5 Negare vulgo milites se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri voces postulantium ut castra ex Volco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse, ingentisque mali non suspicionem
- 6 modo sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Vicus tandem, quando quidem nihil praeter tempus noxae lucrarentur, remissa contione iter in insequentem diem pronuntiari cum iussisset, prima luce classico signum
- 7 profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci ut eodem signo excitati novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit ut neque imperia

merely on *violentior*, but on the whole expression.

3. *expressa*: lit. 'wrung from them'; i.e. their energy was roused. — *vis*, energy. — *alibi*: i.e. except in the camp itself.

4. *saevire*, vent his rage, as often. — *imperium*, an exercise of authority; such abstract nouns are often used in concrete senses; cf. their use in the plural.

5. *negare*, etc.: the words of the remonstrants. — *apertam speciem*, unmistakable appearance,

such that it not only dimly occurred to the mind as a suspicion, but came before the eyes as a *visible reality*.

6. *quando quidem*, etc.: a thought put into the mind of Appius. — *tempus noxae*, postponement of their punishment. — *lucrarentur*, they got; properly as the price of the bargain. He meant to carry out his purpose later. — *remissa*: i.e. giving up the proposed assembly.

7. *cum maxime*, just when.

exaudiri neque instrui acies posset. Nemo ullius nisi 8  
 fugae memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corpo-  
 rum armorumque evasere ut prius hostis desisteret se-  
 qui quam Romanus fugere. Tandem collectis ex dissi- 9  
 pato cursu militibus consul, cum revocando nequiquam  
 suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; ad-  
 vocataque contione invectus haud falso in proditorem  
 exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem signorum, ubi 10  
 signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogicans, inermes mili-  
 tes, signo amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones dupli- 11  
 cariosque qui reliquerant ordines, virgis caesos securi  
 percussit; cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad  
 supplicium lecti.

Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites comi- 60  
 tate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quinctius  
 erat lenior et saevitia infelix collegae quo is magis gau-  
 deret ingenio suo effecerat. Huic tantae concordiae 2

8. *ullius*: a substantive use of this word unknown elsewhere; cf. *etius*, 47. 12.

9. *revocando*: ablative of manner; cf. *sumendo*, 32. 4. — *advocata*: notice the emphasis, *calling* the assembly, as he had originally purposed. — *invectus*: *sc. est*.

10. *inermes milites*, etc.: coordinated (or in apposition) with *singulos*, and so following *rogicans*, but containing the substance of his reproaches repeated chiastically.

11. *ad hoc*: *i.e.* in addition to his invective. — *centuriones duplicariosque*: as more trusted, and so more responsible for the treachery. The latter were not exactly officers, but soldiers who had received a reward (double rations) for previous valor, and so were in a position of trust similar to that

of the centurions. — *multitudo . . . decimus . . . lecti*: a curious construction according to sense, explained by the partitive apposition of *quisque*. — *ad supplicium*, for *execution*.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF QUINCTIUS.

60. *et . . . et*: the two branches are the natural disposition of the consul, and his profiting by the experience of his colleague. — *quo . . . gauderet*: a rare construction of a result clause with *quo*; cf. the common *quominus* in such clauses.

2. *concordiae*, etc.: put by a common Latin usage for *duci*, etc., *tam concordibus*. Though the language is less fond of abstract nouns, yet it sometimes prefers them as summing up the quality referred to in a single word, which is then by its use made concrete again; cf. 1.

- ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se Aequi vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi. Nec ullo ante bello latius inde actae praedae. Ea omnis militi data  
 3 est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus haud minus quam praemio gaudent militum animi. Cum duci tum propter ducem patribus quoque placatior exercitus redit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum datum ab senatu memorans.
- 4 Varia fortuna belli atroci discordia domi forisque annum exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res maior victoria suscepti certaminis quam usu:  
 5 plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est patribus ex concilio submovendis, quam virium aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus.
- 61 Turbulentior inde annus exceptit L. Valerio T. Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria, tum propter iudicium Appi Claudii, cui acerrimo adversario legis causamque possessorum publici agri

41. 4. — *offerre se, to face*. — *hostem*: not merely a repetition of *ducis*, etc., as an English pronoun would be, but giving an additional idea that they were so much impressed that they stood by and looked on while *an enemy* was laying waste their lands. — *ea*: *sc. praeda*. — *data est*: cf. 42. 1 n.

3. *praemio*: the booty was a prize or reward. — *parentem*: as loved children; *dominum*: as oppressed slaves. Cf. the comparison of Domitian and Trajan in Plin. *Pan. 2, non de domino sed de parente loquimur*.

4. *varia*, etc.: *i.e.* though the year was remarkable for the fortunes of war and the dissensions at home, yet more than these the *Publian law* makes it famous. — *victoria*, etc.: *i.e.* as a triumph in the

contest more than for any permanent advantage.

5. *dignitatis*, etc.: *i.e.* the new *comitia* lost dignity because the most distinguished of the voters were now excluded, and consequently the body was only a humble assembly of the poorer classes. Yet there is nothing in Livy's words that distinctly says that the patricians were excluded from *voting*, but only that they were excluded from *being present* to hinder. See note to 56. 10.

#### PROSECUTION OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

61. *exceptit, followed*, properly with an object, here *civitatem*, understood; cf. I. 53. 4. — *Valerio*: cf. 42. 7. — *ordinum*: at this time only the two parties, the patricians

tamquam tertio consuli sustinenti M. Duillius et Cn. Siccus diem dixere. Numquam ante tam invisus 3 plebi reus ad iudicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum. Patres quoque non 4 temere pro ullo aeque adnisi sunt: propugnatorem senatus maiestatisque vindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus, modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, iratae obici plebi. Vnus e patri- 5 bus ipse Ap. Claudius et tribunos et plebem et suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat. Illum non minae plebis, non senatus preces percellere umquam potuere, non modo ut vestem mutaret aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis, cum ad populum agenda causa esset, aliquid leniret atque submitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contu- 6 macia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus reum timeret

and the plebeians. Perhaps they are only so called in accordance with later usage, derived from the 'equestrian order.'

2. *tertio*, etc.: *i.e.* he was so active and took such a leading part, that he seemed like another consul.

— *diem dixere*: probably before the *comitia centuriata*, as in 35. 2. The use of *plebi* and *populi* in the next line seems to confirm this.

3. *plenus*, etc.: a harsh use of *plenus* as well as of the possessive pronoun for the objective genitive. But the phrase can hardly mean anything except 'overwhelmed by wrath against himself and his father,' and we may perhaps justify *plenus* by I. 25. 1, a case not precisely parallel, and *suarum* by 58. 8, taking *irarum* as equivalent to *odiorum*.

4. *non temere*, *not often*; properly, 'not without special cause,' so

that it doesn't occur by chance. — *propugnatorem*, etc.: expressing the feeling rather than the thought of the senate, and so approaching the exclamatory constructions; see Gr. 462. — *suae*: on account of the indirect discourse. — *modum dumtaxat*: *i.e.* he had only gone a little too far in what was, after all, the right direction.

5. *vestem mutaret*: cf. 54. 3 n. — *prensaret*: the technical expression used like our 'button-hole.' — *aliquid*: here hardly differing from *quidquam*, but giving a slightly different tone, 'a little, as one would have thought he would.' — *leniret*, *soften*. — *submitteret*, *humble*, from his lofty tone of arrogance.

6. *habitus oris . . . vultu*: the first, of movement of features; the second, of expression, as of the eyes or the like.

7 quam consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo  
semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu;  
adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupescit et ple-  
bem, ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent, trahi de-  
8 inde rem sinerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis  
fuit; ante tamen quam prodicia dies veniret morbo  
9 moritur. Cuius cum laudationem tribuni plebis impe-  
dire conarentur, plebs fraudari sollemni honore supre-  
mum diem tanti viri noluit, et laudationem tam aequis  
auribus mortui audivit quam vivi accusationem audi-  
erat, et exsequias frequens celebravit.

62 Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos  
profectus cum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset,  
castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit foeda tempe-  
2 stas cum grandine ac tonitribus caelo deiecta. Admira-  
tionem deinde auxit signo receptui dato adeo tranquilla  
serenitas reddita, ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra  
oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad  
3 populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in  
Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se  
4 tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villa-  
rum modo sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habi-  
tabatur, Sabini exciti cum praedatoribus occurissent,  
ancipiti proelio digressi postero die rettulere castra  
5 in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum cur pro victo  
relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

7. *semel, only once*, as opposed to the second trial referred to in the following. — *accusatorio*: *i.e.* with the tone of a prosecutor rather than a defendant. — *diem ipsi*, etc.: whether, as was the practice later, the accused had a right to two more hearings of the case before the vote was taken, is uncertain. Livy assumes that he had not, but the

prosecutors, of their own accord, allowed the case to drag.

9. *laudationem*: cf. 47. 11.

WAR WITH THE SABINES.

62. 4. *villarum*: single farm-houses; *vicorum*: clusters of houses, villages.

5. *integro, still unfinished*; properly, 'with nothing done about it.'

Inter haec bella manente discordia domi consules 63  
 Titus Numicius Priscus A. Verginius facti. Non ultra 2  
 videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ulti-  
 maque vis parabatur cum Volscos adesse fumo ex in-  
 cendiis villarum fugaque agrestium cognitum est. Ea  
 res maturam iam seditionem ac prope erumpentem re-  
 pressit. Consules coacti extemplo ab senatu ad bellum 3  
 educta ex urbe iuventute tranquilliores ceteram plebem  
 fecerunt. Et hostes quidem nihil aliud quam perfusis 4  
 vano timore Romanis citato agmine abeunt. Numicius 5  
 Antium adversus Volscos, Verginius contra Aequos pro-  
 fectus. Ibi ex insidiis prope magna accepta clade virtus  
 militum rem prolapsam neglegentia consulis restituit.  
 Melius in Volscis imperatum est: fusi primo proelio 6  
 hostes fugaque in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant,  
 opulentissimam acti. Quam consul oppugnare non  
 ausus Caenonem, aliud oppidum nequaquam tam opu-  
 lentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Aequi Volscique 7  
 Romanos exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis  
 populates incessere. Deinde ipsi paucis post diebus  
 ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso  
 in finis, plus cladum quam intulerant acceperunt.

Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper alias, 64  
 sollicitae pacis certamine patrum et plebis. Irata plebs

#### WAR ABROAD AND DISCORD AT HOME.

63. 2. *cum cognitum est: cum inversum*, Gr. 546. a.

3. *coacti: sc. educere*, implied in *educta*, etc.

4. *quidem*: opposing the enemy to the consuls; 'the enemy did nothing, to be sure, but the consuls continued the war.'—*aliud*: originally a cognate accusative with the verb (cf. 29. 4), but retained even

when that construction ceases to be possible; cf. Gr. 390. c, and 397. f.

6. *melius . . . imperatum est, the general did better.*—*ut tum*, etc.: so I. 3. 3; II. 50. 2; cf. I. 18. 1 n.

7. *per iram*: cf. 24. 5.—*finis: sc. Sabinorum.*—*cladium: i.e. populationibus.*

#### ANOTHER YEAR OF WAR AND DISCORD.

64. *sollicitae*, disturbed.

2 interesse consularibus comitiis noluit: per patres clien-  
 tesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Servilius.  
 Similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia,  
 3 bello deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini, Crustumino  
 campos citato agmine transgressi, cum caedes et incen-  
 dia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope  
 Collina moenibusque pulsi ingentes tamen praedas ho-  
 4 minum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul in-  
 festo exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci  
 aequis locis non potuit; populationem adeo effuse fecit  
 ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret multiplicique capta  
 5 praeda rediret. Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta  
 cum ducis tum militum opera. Primum aequo campo  
 signis conlatis pugnatum ingenti caede utrimque, plu-  
 6 rimo sanguine. Et Romani, quia paucitas damno sen-  
 tiendo propior erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri men-  
 dacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans,  
 concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vin-  
 7 cere, vicere. Consul metuens ne nimis instando reno-  
 8 varet certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere  
 pauci dies velut tacitis indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta;  
 per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequis-  
 que populis in castra venit, haud dubitans, si senserint,  
 9 Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertia fere vigilia ad  
 10 castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius, sedato tumultu  
 quem terror subitus exciverat, cum manere in tentoriis  
 quietum militem iussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in sta-

2. *tranquilla*: loosely connected with *initia*, but really referring to the rest of the year.

3. *prope*: a colloquial freedom of speech, as we say 'from the gate almost.'

4. *multiplici*, many times as much (as the enemy had taken).

5. *caede*: i.e. loss in killed; sanguine: loss in wounded.

6. *paucitas*: cf. *concordiae*, 60. 2. — *damno*, etc., more likely to feel the loss; literally, 'nearer,' and so more exposed. — *putant*: see Gr. 556. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* V. 231.

9. *itaque*, etc.: i.e. fearing the es-

tionem educit, cornicines tubicinesque in equos impositos canere ante vallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. Reliquum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia <sup>11</sup> in castris fuere ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

Vbi inluxit, Romanus integer satiatumque somno pro- <sup>65</sup> ductus in aciem fessum stando et vigiliis Volscum primo impetu perculit: quamquam cessere magis quam pulsus <sup>2</sup> hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post principia integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre teneri, clamare et poscere ut percussis instare liceat. Ferocius agunt equites, circumfusi duci vociferantur se <sup>3</sup> ante signa ituros. Dum cunctatur consul, virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros; clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus effu- <sup>4</sup> sis ad primum impetum missilibus telis saxa obiacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes turbatosque ictibus crebris

cape of the Romans, they made the attack before they should find out their arrival, and in the night.

10. *stationem*: i.e. an outpost beyond the camp, the usual meaning of the word.

11. *plures*: i.e. than they were. — *Romanos*: not Hernici, and so better soldiers. — *insueto*, etc.: two reasons for the uneasiness of the horses.

VICTORY OVER THE VOLSCI.

65. 2. *pulsus*: this would imply

broken ranks, while the Volsci retired in good order. — *principia*: the first line under the old tactics, containing the best citizens, who protected the other lines when hard pressed. Either really or according to Livy's conception, the other lines must have advanced to the front, and on occasion retired behind the *principes*. — *iniquum locum*: i.e. the clivi mentioned above.

4. *turbatos*, etc.: i.e. first throws them into confusion, and then begins to press on them from above.

urget ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratum est sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus iam gradum consul increpando simul temeritatem simul ignaviam pudore  
 5 metum excussisset. Resistere primo obstinatis animis; deinde, ut obtinentes locum vires refecerant, audent ultro gradum inferre, et clamore renovato commovent aciem. Tum rursus impetu capto enituntur atque exsu-  
 6 perant iniquitatem loci. Iam prope erat ut in summum clivi iugum evaderent, cum terga hostes dedere effusoque cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur. Qui  
 7 Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt; Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus. Paucos circumsessum dies deditur nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod iam inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

— *oneratum*: *i.e.* overborne by mere weight. For construction, see Gr. 517. *b*.

5. *obtinentes*, etc.: *i.e.* holding their ground for a moment allowed

them to recover. — *ultro*: *i.e.* not merely to hold their own, but even to advance.

7. *paucos*: see 23. 12 n. — *nulla*, etc.: cf. *oppugnare non ausus*, 63. 6.

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